

For Treason Act 1063
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T H E

CONTINENTAL JOURNAL,

A N D

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1776.

[NUMB. XXXI.]

BOSTON: PRINTED BY JOHN GILL, IN QUEEN-STREET.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

S I R,

THE novelty and importance of the contest betwixt Great Britain and America, considered merely as a fact in the history of nations, makes it to every man a matter of interesting speculation. The influence which its determination one way or another must have upon the future situation of his country, will sufficiently excuse an Englishman if he talks warmly upon the subject.

Among sensible men, the chief hope of our long remaining the sovereigns of America, was founded upon the supposed facility we would have in crushing their first attempts towards rebellion. From the concurrence of a thousand unhappy circumstances, we have let slip the golden opportunity. We are no longer to deal with an alliance ill enough cemented to be broken by the first external shock, or ready to dissolve by the first internal fermentation, with a government wavering and unstable,—with a people too unskilled in the way of employing their resources to be deemed formidable,—with soldiers uninitiated to warfare, or not sufficiently drabbed into heroism to cope with ours. We must now contend with a nation, which emerging from the first disorders of an altered constitution, has assumed a regular and solid form of government, which, become acquainted with the extent of its resources, has established a settled revenue, and levied troops, who, if we adopt the solid, impartial principle, that the characters of men depend chiefly on moral circumstances, must soon be equal to our own. The interests of the different colonies, respecting each other, are now better adjusted, and provisions being more carefully made to prevent their chafing, their union has become firmer. The pliant hand of custom has bent one part of the people to that form of government which the rest adopted from original inclination, and given it of consequence greater stability. Our tardiness has afforded them time to foresee what calamities may befall them, and to discover what remedies they should provide. Our first misfortunes have laid up for them a stock of real success, which during some time will balance considerable losses, which adulterated and wrought up by their factional leaders, will in the minds of the people long preponderate; which having banished the first fears of an unsuccessful rebellion, has engaged them too far to think of a retreat, and bound them together by the strongest ties; the dread of punishment for what is a crime towards Great Britain, and the hope of reward for what is virtue towards their own posterity.

However unfortunate I deem it, that we should have allowed the disease to make such progress before we gave over trifling with Palliatives, and thought of a serious Cure, or however much reckon Ministers answerable for the slightest neglect in National Affairs, yet in the present case I can by no Means think them justly subjected to an unlimited Disapprobation. So far as their Errors have flowed from too great a Spirit of Mildness, a Lover of this Country will readily forgive them. So far as they have proceeded from bad Information, whoever knows the Extent of human Capacity, and is acquainted with common justice, will excuse the first examples of weakness in their measures. Faction has long ago prophesied all the misfortunes which have happened; but in this country, we are accustomed to distinguish betwixt the creed of a party, and the belief of its members. Certain

it is, that when the Boston port-bill passed, very few sensible people in England seriously expected what has since come to pass, yet many of them were in the most unreserved correspondence of friendship with America. The ministry had no such opportunity of gaining intelligence, and cannot be blamed if they were equally mistaken. Their advice could come only from the servants of the Crown, who by the officers they enjoyed were excluded from free converse with those who openly opposed the views of government, and were consequently deprived of the surest means to penetrate their real intentions.

In more recent cases I cannot so readily excuse the conduct of administration, to apply and it is impossible. The affair of Lexington and Bunker's Hill might have awakened the court more thoroughly than they did. I know well that it was beyond the exertions even of Great Britain, to send out last year the enormous armament under which the ocean now groans; but when I compensate this difference with that betwixt the situation of America then and at present, I am much inclined to think that such a force might have gone from this island as in the end of harvest, or during the winter, would have done something of consequence, and at all events have placed us in circumstances better than our actual ones for commencing this campaign. Had it been difficult to find soldiers now in England, the King who tells us that the—of his—is—, might have spared a few more—troops to be sent directly to Boston. His—could be in no danger; for we are assured on all hands by his—of the universal disposition in foreign powers to preserve the public tranquillity. I neither mean to depreciate his—'s zeal for the welfare of Great Britain, nor to approve the measure of employing foreign troops in our service. I wish only that—had—hile they injure us by neglect, would not insult us by inconsistency.

Dismissing this question, I would ask if there can be any reason why the paltry reliefs that were sent should have been so in a manner careless enough to let them be seized by the Americans? Why were the additional troops, together with the stores and provisions for the soldiers already at Boston, suffered to become so often a prey to the rebels? I would ask above all, whether the necessity of our remaining inactive during the last campaign be an excuse for putting us in the case of remaining equally inactive during a great part of this one? Late as Parliament, considering the singular urgency of the case, assembled, it granted supplies in time enough for the British troops, as well as the Auxiliaries, to have been in America, at a time when our Hellish friends were but waddling towards the German ports.

Our good-nature has established, that ministers are not to be censured for measures, however imprudent, provided they be attended with no capital misfortune. Unhappily for our present—cannot be hidden even under this comprehensive shade. We need only reflect upon the fact of our troops having been forced from Boston, and upon the present general appearance of our affairs in America, to perceive how pernicious has been—

There was a time when we could trust to the Gazette, as giving the best information with regard to our good or bad success; for there was a time when ministers, who never pretended to be infallible, were conscious enough of their integrity to believe themselves safe in the

judgment of a generous people. This confidence has vanished with its foundation. Our ministers are reduced to the—of falsifying those accounts, which, by their very mode of publication, must be considered as proceeding directly from the—, and consequently as having obtained the most solemn sanction of veracity. Without attending to the unprosperous appearance of the truths concealed, the very concealing of them,—the making out—, must shock and alarm every Englishman. The very essence of our constitution demands confidence betwixt the different branches of legislature, as well as betwixt each of them and the people. Can that confidence co-exist with—? I will say no more upon to ungracious a topic, because it refers not directly to the purpose of this letter, the considering our situation with regard to America.

When we reflect upon the facts relative to our troops leaving Boston, as they really are in themselves, neither mutilated in the Gazette, nor exaggerated by the rebels, and then compare them with the account which government gives of the matter, reason will lead us to conclusions that promise no very ample success in this campaign. It is notorious, that the army, previous to its quitting the town, suffered under a very heavy cannonade, that there was a design to attack the rebels, and by a victory which must have been dear bought, to put an end to the siege, that this design was frustrated by a contrary wind, that then, and not till then, our troops decamped.

From this state of the case, which I believe no body will question to be a just one, there is certainly a strong connection betwixt General Howe's wishing to risk a battle with forces unequal to the enemy, and his regarding the retreat from Boston as a very uneligible measure. betwixt his at length determining to quit his station, and his being no longer able to keep it. The ministry, in their account, take no notice of all this; yet the circumstances are too striking to have been merely forgotten. They must have been concealed, and if they have been concealed, it must be from some reason. What the reason is, we may easily guess, when we consider, that of the troops destined for the American service, now might have arrived before the body of the army, to have given Gen. Howe a force, which might prevent the rebels from coming within cannon shot of the town. That gallant officer could not then have declined a battle, until necessity forced it upon him, nor could the accidental impossibility of coming to an engagement at length determined on, have forced him to a retreat by no means the less unfortunate, that it was not dishonourable.

I mean not here to inquire into the real advantage or disadvantage of our being no longer in possession of Boston. It is sufficient to find that we no longer have an inch of ground about it, and that the design was to stay in it as long as possible. Our ministry have often been reduced to singular shifts in defending their conduct, yet I hardly believe they will venture to allege the wrongness of their measures, in excuse of their bad success;—I sincerely wish, that they may be able to atone for the past, by the fortunate issue of the new steps they have taken.

Until such events be declared, we must naturally regret that the former plan for the prosecution of the campaign has thus miserably failed;—we must dread the delays that a change of system has ever occasioned;—we must fear every thing from the hurry with which the new

9 see index of 60. 11. See index, under Army of the United Colonies (1) see index, under Army British (2) see Charter of the Ministry Crisis, The (3) See page 499. (4) See page 723. (5) See page 754. (6) See index, under Troops British (8) See index, under Ministry (9) See index, under Great page 951. (10) See index, under Navy Affairs (12) See page 902. (13) See index, under Letters giving an account

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measures will of necessity be adopted; in short, until we find the facts more favourable than we can yet expect, we have reason to be alarmed with the prospect of a campaign, neither as indolent as the former, nor one in which our operations, undirected by any settled design, may risk a defeat, and if successful, may tend but little towards the completion of their purpose.

We are kept so much in the dark with regard to the views of administration, that it is only by reasoning upon facts that we can conjecture any thing with regard to their intentions, or the probable issue of this dispute. Let us in this way try to guess at the situation in which we will probably find ourselves at the end of this Summer.

As far as we learn, General Burgoyne is to march from Canada against the back quarter of the rebellious settlements, while General Howe and his brother, with the fleet and a second army, make the coast their scene of action. Before Burgoyne can march from Canada, he must ensure the possession of that province itself. The forts which the Americans hold from us must be retaken. When they fell into their hands they were in despair, our garrisons were insufficient to defend them, and such as they were the rebels surprised most of them. Unless we can suppose the Americans very unacquainted with the proper mode of conducting themselves, a supposition that facts will not justify, these forts are now in repair, are provided with their full garrisons, and above the fear of a Coup de Main. In all probability they will each of them coil a siege, and if they be but proportionally as well defended as the redoubt on Bunker's Hill was, they will occupy our arms, long enough to make their efforts towards the works, of very little consequence in this campaign.

Before General Burgoyne can either venture to attack the forts of Canada, or to march against the United Colonies, he must establish magazines and communications, which may ensure to him the supply of every store. This is commonly the occupation of a commander during winter, in the country where he is already settled, and whence he means to proceed on to further conquests. But we were in possession of no part of Canada until very lately; and before we can take these necessary steps with regard to it, the season will, I fear, be very much advanced. Let us not be too much elated with the defeat of the rebels at Quebec, we disgrace ourselves when we boast of such exploits. If General Carleton has merited so much, let us prepare for the leader who shall finally subdue the rebels; rewards and profits that would have made Caesar blush. That leader was not found.

As for the operations of General Howe, I am not much more sanguine in my hopes with regard to them, than in my expectations from those of General Burgoyne. Had he kept possession of Boston and proceeded from thence directly against New-England, his situation would have been extremely difficult. But I am afraid that his present one is by no means better. When master of Boston, he had at least footing in the rebel country, and had no danger to run previous to those attending the attempts which would have decided the fate of America. On the contrary, when he shall have left Halifax to go as we learn against New-York, he must begin with the perilous manoeuvre of landing and besieging a town, which, by this time, is in every respect fortified with care. If we judge by general rules, it will certainly be taken; but from the same rules we have to apprehend, that the siege will cost us many men, and a great deal of time. When it shall have fallen into our hands, can we think ourselves farther advanced in the conquest of America, by the possession of this one place upon the coast, than we would have been by that of Boston? As for our progress into the heart of the country, neither the examination of maps, nor any conjectures that I can form as to the manner in which the rebels will conduct themselves, teach me to believe it safer in the one case than in the other. He made great progress.

I trust every thing in the gallantry of our troops, and in the acknowledged skill of their commanders. But no human prudence can ensure perpetual success: The history of the world tells us how much military operations have ever depended upon chance. With this idea of the possibility of our being in some instances unsuccessful, it is cruel to reflect how dangerous the consequences of a single defeat must be to the army under General Burgoyne, and how totally destructive to that under General Howe.

If heaven grants us an uninterrupted success during this summer, we may hope by the end of it to be in full possession of Canada, and to have provided in that country magazines and communications, which in the next campaign will be of great service to our army in its progress southward. We may expect that General Howe will be in possession of New-York, with some other places on the coast; and at the beginning of winter find himself in a situation somewhat better than his old one at Boston. But this is presuming much on the favour of the divinity: A few very possible misfortunes will shut us up for the winter on the banks of the river St. Lawrence upon the one hand, and in Halifax on the other.

As for what may be the final end of this dispute, I will not pretend even to hint an opinion. Although there cannot in nature be any such thing as absolute chance, yet relatively to us there is almost nothing else. With respect to man, every thing is chance, as soon as he cannot discover the continued connections of cause and effect. People may create systems, may forge facts, and may imagine connections that will lead to any conclusion they wish to favour; but a wise man will cautiously withhold his belief from their doctrines. It is the real chain of cause and effect as it exists in nature, and not in our fancy, that alone determines the lot of nations: Difficulty has ever attended its discovery in events already past: We can trace it where it extends into futurity; but a very short way, to point it out with certainty at a considerable distance, is impossible. The links are not yet all formed; their junction is not yet completed. A single new circumstance may start into existence, which will overthrow the best founded systems, those built upon the experience of past ages.

L O N D O N.

From the NEW-YORK MERCURY.

N E W - Y O R K, September 30.

On Saturday the 28th instant we had a terrible fire in this city, which consumed about 1000 houses, or nearly a fourth of the whole city. The following is the best account we can collect of this melancholy event. The fire broke out first at the South part of the city, near White-Hall; and was discovered between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, the wind blowing very fresh from the south, and the weather exceeding dry. The rebel army having carried off all the bells of the city, the alarm could not be speedily communicated and very few of the citizens were in town, most of them being driven out by the calamities of war, and several of the first rank sent prisoners to New-England, and other distant parts. A few minutes after the fire was discovered at White-Hall, it was observed to break out in five or six other places, at a considerable distance.

In this dreadful situation, when the whole city was threatened with destruction, major-general Robertson, who had the chief command, sent immediately for two regiments that were encamped near the city, placed guards in the several streets, and took every other precaution that was practicable to ward off the impending ruin. Lord Howe ordered the boats of the fleet to be manned, and after landing a large number of officers and seamen to assist us, the boats were stationed on each side of the City in the North and East rivers; and the lines near the royal army were extended a cross the island, at it manifestly appeared that the city was dangerously set on fire.

The fire raged with inconceivable violence: And in its destructive progress swept away all the buildings between Broad-street and the North-river, as high as the City-Hall; and from thence, all the houses between Broad-way and the North-river, as far as King's college, a few only excepted. Long before the main fire reached Trinity church, that large, ancient and venerable edifice was in flames, which baffled every effort to suppress them. The steeple, which was 140 feet high, the upper part wood and placed on an elevated situation, resembled a vast pyramid of fire, exhibiting a most grand and awful spectacle. Several women and children perished in the flames, their shrieks, joined to the roaring of the flames, the crash of falling houses, and the wide spread ruin which every where appeared, formed a scene of horror great beyond description, and which was still heightened by the darkness of the night. Besides Trinity church, the Rectory's house, the Charity School, the old Lutheran church, and many other fine buildings were consumed. St. Paul's church and King's college were directly in the line of fire, but saved with very great difficulty. After raging about ten hours, the fire was extinguished between ten and eleven o'clock, A. M.

During this complicated scene of devastation and distress, at which the most savage heart might relent, several persons were discovered with large bundles of matches, dipped in melted resin and bitumens, and attempting to set fire to the houses. A New-England man, who had a Captain's commission in under the Continental Congress, and in their service, was seized with these dreadful implements of ruin—on being searched the sum of 300l. was found upon him. General Robertson rescued two of those incendiaries from the enraged populace, who had otherwise consigned them to the flames, and reserved them for the hand of deliberate justice. One White a carpenter, was observed to cut the leather buckets which conveyed water—he also wounded, with a cutlass, a woman who was very active

in hating water. This provoked the spectators to take a degree, that they instantly hung him up. One of those villains set fire to the college, and was seized; many others were detected in the like crime and secured.

The officers of the army and navy, the serjeants and soldiers, greatly excited themselves, often with the utmost hazard to themselves, and showed all that alacrity and activity for which they are justly celebrated on such occasions. To their vigorous efforts in pulling down such wooden buildings as would conduct the fire, it is owing, under providence, that the whole city was not consumed; for the number of inhabitants was small, the pumps and fire engines were very much out of order. This last circumstance, together with the removal of our bells, the time and place of the fire's breaking out, when the wind south, the city's being set on fire in so many different places nearly at the same time, so many incendiaries being caught in the very act of setting fire to houses: These, to mention no other particulars clearly evince beyond the possibility of doubt, this diabolical fair was the result of a preconcerted, deliberate scheme. Thus, the persons who called themselves our friends and protectors, were the perpetrators of this atrocious deed, which in guilt and villainy is not inferior to the gun powder plot; whilst those who were held up as our enemies were the people who gallantly stepped forth, at the risk of their lives, to snatch us from destruction! Our distresses were very great indeed before; but this disaster has increased them tenfold. Many hundreds of families have lost their all; and are reduced from a state of affluence to the lowest ebb of want and wretchedness—destitute of shelter, food or clothing.

Surely, "these must be some chosen curse—some secret thunder in the flocks of heaven; red with unclean mon'wrath to blast" the miscreants, who thus wantonly sport with the lives, property and happiness of their fellow creatures, and unfeeling doom them to inevitable ruin.

see index, under fire.
[The foregoing account of the fire is supposed to be written by Major Ross, formerly aid de camp to General Gage, a noted paragraph writer in the Massachusetts Gazette, published by John Harris, during the blockade.]

N O R W I C H, Dec. 2.

The General Assembly of this State, at their last session, fixed the following prices, viz. labour in the summer not to exceed 2s. per day; wheat 6s. per bushel; rye 3s. 6d. Indian corn 3s. wood 2s. per pound; flax 10d. pork from five to seven score 3d. 1q. from seven to ten 3d. 2q. from ten and upwards 3d. 3q. grubs fed beef not to exceed 24s. per hundred, so in proportion according to its quantity; raw hides 3d. per lb. salt 10s. per bushel; West-India rum 6s. per gallon, per hoghead; best muscovado sugar, 60s. per gallon; New-England rum 3s. 6d. per gallon, per hoghead; molasses 3s. per gallon, per hoghead; tea 4s. 6d. per pound; butter 10d. cheese 6d. see our Act, pa. 1058.

Mr. Ebenezer Grover, jun. of this town, who returned from the army last evening, informs us, that at the evacuation of Fort Lee, as he was coming from the fort, he was, after being fired at several times, taken by a small party of the enemy who took from him his horse and pack, threatening his life every minute, and carried him before General Cornwallis, who examined him, and ordered him to be searched; and after breaking open and burning several letters, took his pocket-book, which contained several Continental bills, at which they were much diverted, and talked of burning them; but he begged them not to, as they would pass among us as well as silver; after detaining him two days, with nine other prisoners, the brigade major gave him his pass, and informed him that he was at liberty to return home; the other nine were ordered to New-York. The General and his officers requested Mr. Grover to give their compliments to the people of Connecticut, and that they would come and pay us a visit as soon as they had been to see the Congress. Mr. Grover did not get his horse and pack again. (9)

To be sold at PUBLIC AUCTION, on TUESDAY the 7th Day of January next, 1777, at Salem, the Prize ship SALLY, about 210 TONS Burthen, built at Philadelphia, well found with Sails, Rigging, Cables, Anchors, &c. Inventory to be seen, by applying to Samuel Williams, any Time before the Sale.

|| Said WILLIAMS has for Sale, excellent LIQUOR WINE, by Quantity or single Cask. Also one Cask of about 50 Gallons of very excellent Red Port WINE. Should not the Wine be sold at private Sale before the Day appointed to sell the Ship, the remaining Part of it will be sold at Auction. [1]

ALL Persons that have any Demands on the Estate of James Stevens, Jun. late of Townsend, deceased, are desired to bring in their Accounts and Notes to William Stevens, of Townsend, Administrator to said Estate. December 17 1776.

ALL Persons that have any Demands on the Estate of Joseph Field, late of Baintree, County of Worcester, deceased, are desired to send in their claims to Joseph Field, of said Baintree, Administrator to said Estate. And all Persons who are indebted to said Estate are desired to make speedy Payment. Baintree, December 25, 1776.

see index, under New York. (10) Our Army retreated from it, & did not stand a siege, pa. 1012, 1017. (4) General Burgoyne was captured, with his whole army in attempting to march in New England. Oct. 17, 1777. (13) see pa. 1058. (14) see index, under Congress. (15) see index, under Continental.

(5) see index, under Congress, Continental. (6) see declaration, pa. 97
(7) see index, under Naval Affairs
-1065
(8) see Treason Act, pa. 1063

From a late LONDON PAPER.

On Sunday last Mr. Payne the Confab, better known by the name of The Little English Carpenter, presented the following Petition to his Majesty. Mr. Payne delivered it into the King's own hand.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"YOUR Majesty's most loyal and faithful subject ventures once more to approach your royal person in behalf of all your poor subjects in every part of your Majesty's dominions. The Rev. Mr. W.ley has declared, that thousands of them, about 100 miles from the metropolis (on account of the unnatural war now carrying on) are in the utmost distress for want of employ, and are obliged, for want of bread, to go into the fields and pick up the fragments of turnips the cattle have left, a dreadful sight in a christian country! There is a day coming when somebody must answer for this before the awful Judge of the quick and dead, for we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; King's as well as beggars must stand at God's awful bar, then the wicked will be turned into hell, with all the nations that forget God, for it is written, The proud, yea and all who do wickedly, shall be humble, and the day that shall turn them up, shall the Lord of Hosts, and shall leave them neither east nor branch. Oh that the people of this land were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end, and apply their hearts unto wisdom; then instead of flocking to the play-house to hear a number of idle stories, they would be reading and meditating on the word of God, which alone is able to make them wise unto salvation; if this were more the practice, we should hear less cursing and swearing in our streets, less robbing and plundering one another, and less debauchery up and down the land; I fear there is too much of it among the great, who ought to set a good example to their inferiors, but we see a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, and the judgments of God seem to hang over our heads. Now is the day of the Lord prophesied, and is now become a day of trade, notwithstanding it is against the law of God and the land! It is high time for your Majesty to proclaim a Fast, and call a solemn assembly, for the rain do we trust to our Father and our Father, if God fight against us. Hear the word of the Lord, Cursed is the man that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm. May your Majesty learn of your American subjects, notwithstanding the many thousand brave fellows their country abounds with they have thought it necessary to implore the Divine Assistance, and prosper what they think is lawful, and God has hitherto given them prosperity, and made them glorious (if the public accounts return) over your Majesty's forces, almost in every engagement. May the God of mercy soon put a stop to the bloody wars, before this kingdom is totally ruined. Can no moderate means be used to unite us and the Colonies once more together as the heart of one man? Then under God, we may bid defiance to all the world, but if the word of God is true, A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand. Surely no one can deny that he is the case at present with this once happy land. Let us (that darling attribute of God, and the brightest jewel in your Majesty's crown) sway the sceptre, and subvert all the enemies of peace, both here and in America, that you are indeed a compassionate father of all your children, notwithstanding many of them very ungrateful. The sacred scripture which is, Children obey your parents, likewise adds, Parents provoke not your children to wrath. I hope your Majesty, out of your noted goodness, will point out some method of reconciliation before it is too late, and I doubt not but your Majesty's American children will humbly submit and relate at the thoughts of once more enjoying peace in their borders; then trade and commerce will soon flourish again, and cheerful smiles appear in every countenance, as the people would, as in time past, flourish and obey the King!—May the Lord of Hosts and God of Battles, who has the hearts of all men in his hand, incline those great men who are at the head of this, to study for peace, before it is forever hidden from our eyes. Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God, if they only are the children of God, who must be the father of the contrary party. How many brave fellows have already told in all both of your English and American subjects, (God knows) but the time may soon come when they may be wanted to oppose your Majesty's Popish advisers, who are no doubt laughing at our present calamity, and longing to sheath their swords in the bowels of your Majesty's protestant subjects, for Popery is still avarice, and its abettors only want an opportunity to ravine us of it, but may God preserve your Majesty, your Royal Consort, our gracious and much beloved Queen, with your numerous and tender offspring, to sit like olive branches round about your table, from all darkness and arbitrary power. (2)

So prays and wishes your Majesty's most dutiful loyal subject,

WILLIAM PAYNE,

Carpenter, Temple bar.

PROVIDENCE, December 21.

By some Deserters from the ministerial fleet Newport, we learn, that the Troops lately arrived there consist of about 6000 Men, one half them Hessians; and that it was reported on the fleet, that they were soon to proceed Boston, through this Town.

We learn from Newport, that upon the arrival of a ship there on Thursday last, supposed to come from New-York, the transports in the harbor began to take on board hay and straw; it was whispered that general Howe had with a rebuff in New-Jersey. False. The troops from the neighbouring States continue to arrive here daily; and last night came down a company of volunteers from Salem. Tuesday last arrived here Major-General Mearns, who is appointed to the chief command of the American troops in this department.

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of War, & see indexes, under Army British, & see index, under Army of the United Colonies, & Naval Affairs.

(1) see index, under Treason, & Congress, & to reclaim

HARTFORD, December 21.
Extract of a letter dated Head-Quarters, Trenton
Fall, December 12, 1776.

"My last to you was by Capt. —, of the 5th instant, from Trenton—I was then in hopes my next would have acquainted you we were advancing on the enemy; my reason for presuming this, was a speedy arrival of Gen. Lee, with his division of the army—our enemy knowing how far he was in the rear, and our weak situation, made a forced march to come up with us, and were within two miles of Princeton when Lord Sterling began his retreat with two brigades. Boats from every quarter were collected, and our stores, together with the troops remaining at Trenton, were immediately conveyed over the Delaware. On Sunday morning, having every thing over, we crossed the Delaware, and took our quarters about half a mile from the river. About 11 o'clock, the enemy came marching down with all the pomp of war, in great expectation of getting boats, and immediately pursuing; but of this we took proper care, by destroying every boat, shallop, &c. we could lay our hands on. They made forced marches up and down the river, in pursuit of boats, but in vain. This is Thursday:—the enemy are much scattered, some in Trenton, directly opposite, from that on their left to Burlington and Burlington, on the river banks. The enemy are at least 12,000 strong, determined for Philadelphia, for which purpose they are transporting flat-bottomed boats from Brunswick to Trenton by land."

By several Gentlemen from the Southward we are informed that the Saturday after the Enemy entered Trenton, having collected a Number of Boats, attempted to cross Delaware River in their Way to Philadelphia, but being vigorously opposed by our Men on the opposite Shore, great Numbers of them (some say 1700) were either killed or drowned: But this, as it is received only as Report, the Public receive it from the Press in the same Manner. False!

We hear the Hon. Gen. Parsons, with a small Body of Men is now at Hackinsack, in New-Jersey, where he has lately had a considerable engagement with a party of the enemy, where he routed them, killed a number, and took about 70 prisoners, together with a large quantity of baggage, stores, &c.

On Friday the 13th instant, about 11 o'clock his Excellency General Lee being at a house in Baskinridge, in New-Jersey, at a great distance from the enemy's army, the house was on a sudden surrounded by 60 of the light horse, who immediately fired 60 or 70 shot into the house, when his Excellency, seeing there was not a possibility of making his escape, surrendered himself a prisoner of war. Upon this, the enemy mounted him upon a horse, without hat or cloak, and rode off with the utmost expedition. (4)

Intelligence of Gen. Lee's unguarded Situation, was given to the Enemy the Evening before, by an Inhabitant of Baskinridge, personally known to the General, and who had made great pretensions of Friendship for the American Cause, tho' at Heart the greatest Villain that ever existed. This Judas rode all the preceding Night to carry the Intelligence, and served as a Pilot to conduct the Enemy, and came personally, with them to the House where the General was taken. (4)

BOSTON, December 26.

Tuesday last the General Assembly of this State met after a short adjournment.

The Truth of the following extraordinary Affair may be relied on, viz.

Captain Eda, with 70 men, who, about two months since left St. John's, in order to take Port-Cumberland, seven days after his departure, took a sailing party of 20 men from the fort, who some time since arrived at Newbury-Port. Five days after taking the aforesaid party, as they were lying in ambush near the fort, they discovered a frigate and a sloop, both which went up as far as the fort; and the frigate leaving the sloop behind, departed. About 48 hours after, in the night, 17 of Capt. Eda's men determined to take the sloop; they accordingly went and boarded her; a sergeant on board, who was made acquainted with the affair by the watch, ordered them to fire; but upon being told by Capt. Eda's men if they did, they should all be put to the sword, they tho't proper to desist; and accordingly resigned themselves and vessel (the cargo of which was valued at Halifax at 3000l. Sterl.) into the hands of the brave Americans. The next morning, the captain of the aforesaid sloop, a doctor and chaplain (not knowing what had happened) came on board, and in a short time after, 15 men in a yawl, in order to unload the vessel, then 7 in a two mast boat, all which are taken proper care of, and were together with the sloop, which is laden with beef, pork, flour, peas, candles, blankets, iron, steel, nails, &c. carried into Newbury-Port the beginning of last week.

And, It is supposed that by this time, Capt. Eda, with the remainder of his men, is in possession of Port-Cumberland. See did not succeed.

see index, under Troops British, Mon of War; Army of the United Colonies, & Naval Affairs. & see indexes, under

of War, & see indexes, under Army British, & see index, under Army of the United Colonies, & Naval Affairs.

(1) see index, under Treason, & Congress, & to reclaim

State of Massachusetts-Bay. (8)
In the year of our LORD, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

An ACT for preventing or punishing crimes that may be committed against the public safety, below the degree of treason and misprision of treason.

WHEREAS the Congress of the United Colonies of America, in order to preserve the inhabitants thereof from that ruin and misery to which they were destined by the avarice and cruelty of Great-Britain, did, upon the fourth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy six, declare the said Colonies to be free States, independent of all people and nations; and whereas some wilful minded persons within this State, have at divers times, by words and actions, endeavored to discourage the people from supporting said declaration, and also in their opposition to those acts and measures of the King and parliament of Great Britain which induced the Congress to make such declaration, (6)

Be it therefore enacted by the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That if any person shall make use of any expressions in preaching or praying, or in public or private discourse or conversation, with an apparent design to discourage the people of this State, or of any of them from supporting said declaration, or that shall by words or actions, directly or indirectly endeavour to support or justify the measures taken by the King and parliament of Great-Britain against the American States, or shall dissuade the people of this State, or any of them from supporting their opposition to said measures, or shall endeavour by any ways or means to prevent the Continental Army from being raised, or the Continental Navy from being manned, or with an evident design to prevent the raising said army or manning said navy, shall dissuade or endeavour to prevent any person or persons from enlisting in the Army or Navy of the UNITED STATES, or either of them, or shall use any means to hunt or destroy the credit of the public bills of the United States of America, or of this State; each person so offending, and being thereof convicted, shall pay a fine to the use of the town or plantation where such offence is committed, not exceeding fifty pounds, nor less than twenty shillings, at the discretion of the court before whom the conviction shall be, and shall recognize for his good behaviour, as such court shall order and stand committed until sentence be performed.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any justice of the peace, upon complaint made to him of such offence, and finding presumptive evidence that the same is true, shall order such offender to find sureties for his appearance as the next court of general sessions of the peace, to be held in the county where such offence is committed; and in default thereof to commit such offender to the common goal; and all the justices, constables, grand-jurors and tything-men, are directed and enjoined to make presentment and complaint of all such offences as shall come to their knowledge respectively.

(4) General Lee's being taken, appeared a great misfortune. Our affairs never looked darker than at this time; The Army was almost broken up; it is said that General Washington had not more than 3, or 4,000 Men;—A victorious Army pursuing—

(very large) If General Washington retreating continually, until the 25 dec. 1776:—he in a very surprising manner entirely defeated a considerable body of Hessians at Trenton, which gave a new turn to our affairs:—

put an end to the pursuit of the enemy, & finally obliged to retreat from the Jersey. Gen. Lee was much blamed, & was never any service to our cause afterwards: It at length was suspended for a year, for ill behaviour at Monmouth, 1778. A great pity!

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LONDON, August 6.

The following is an authentic account of what has lately happened between Spain and Portugal.

"In the course of last year General Veris, Governor of Buenos Ayres, repeatedly wrote to the Court of Madrid, that the Portuguese daily encroached upon the rights of the Spaniards, and laid violent hands upon those that dared to oppose them; but as often as the Spanish minister complained about it to the court of Lisbon, he received for answer, 'That it must be some party quarrel among the neighbouring inhabitants, and entirely without the knowledge of the court.' The Minister implicitly was satisfied with that answer, and wrote to the General that the two courts were in the best harmony and friendship, and whatever happened between the Spanish and Portuguese subjects in that quarter of the world should be adjusted there, as it did not deserve the particular notice of these Courts."

"In the month of November last, the General sent a very alarming letter to the minister, insisting that the Portuguese, whose forces increased daily, and who continued to commit very daring and outrageous actions, must have some hostile views, and therefore a proper and sufficient reinforcement was highly necessary; upon which the Minister complained again to the Court of Lisbon; and as the answer did not follow immediately, a reinforcement of three regiments was sent to Buenos Ayres, with orders to join the land militia there."

"In the month of December the Portuguese Ambassador at Madrid, waited upon the Minister, declaring in his Most Faithful Majesty's name, that he had not the least hostile intentions, and that dispatches had just been sent to all the chief officers in that quarter to reprimand them for their past conduct, and to give the strictest orders to keep their soldiers in due discipline, assuring him at the same time that nothing hostile should be heard in future."

"The latter end of April the Minister, to his great astonishment, received the following intelligence from the above Governor: That on the 17th of March a Portuguese Squadron, consisting of 12 ships of different sizes, commanded by an English officer, attacked near Las Patos, 5 Spanish vessels, but the wind (which blew very violently) happened to be in favour of the latter, so that the former were scattered and obliged to retire; however, some hundreds were killed and wounded in the engagement; and that the English officer who had the command, in a fit of despair, threw two English officers (whom he accused of cowardice) over board and shot himself through the head. This was immediately sent to the Minister, who answered that it might have been done previous to the late orders having been received, but it was without the least knowledge of the Court. The Court of Madrid, notwithstanding this answer, became suspicious, and orders were given for an armament."

"In the beginning of May, the Court of Madrid received dispatches that open hostilities were commenced by the Portuguese; that on the 23 of April 30 Portuguese transports, having on board nine regiments and 300 pieces of cannon, commanded by German & English officers, sailed up the river Rio Grande, attacked the Fort St. Thelie, which was soon delivered up to them; they further advanced and attacked the Fort Theresa (which by this time they are in possession of, as also of that of Monte Video;) General Veris, in a hurry, went with his garrison of Monte Video and some artillery, to oppose them, but was defeated, about 400 of his men were killed, and about 100 wounded; and when the dispatches came away they were marching towards Buenos Ayres."

"Upon this alarming intelligence a general armament was ordered throughout Spain, and some of their squadrons united with the French, and the matter rests thus: the Court of Lisbon still insists that this was done without their order or knowledge; but as the latter two forts, viz. Theresa and Monte Video were not taken before the 27th of April, a time when the orders of the Court of Lisbon (which according to the above-mentioned declaration were sent in the beginning of December last) must have been received, and consequently the officers have acted contrary to the royal orders; the Court of Madrid insists that these offenders shall be punished with death, which they richly deserved at any rate, whether they acted against their orders, or whether they acted without the knowledge of the Court of Lisbon; and if this be done, the Court of Madrid will consider themselves amply satisfied; but if this request is not complied with, the latter will judge, (and which is most probable) that it was done with positive orders from the former Court, and consequently they will proceed to an open war, in which they will be assisted by the Court of France."

"This is the nature of Don Castan's (the Commander in Chief of the united fleet) embassy to the Court of Lisbon. All Europe is anxious to know how this matter will end; & we hear that the Courts of Great Britain and France have both declared that the request of the Court of Madrid is founded in justice and equity, and should be complied with, as a satisfaction to the greatly offended Court of Spain. Mean while both France and Spain are ready to crush the treacherous Portuguese in case of non compliance."

1066

BOSTON, December 23.

The Alfred Man of War, of the American Navy, with the Sloop Providence, sailed from Rhode Island the 1st of November. On the 15th they took a Brig with a very valuable Cargo, from Liverpool for Halifax; and on the 17th off Louisbourg they took a fine Transport, laden with Cloathing for Canada—the 16th, off Cape North, they took a Snow, with a Cargo of Fish, &c. from Gaspey for Barbades—in the Night of the 18th, the Providence disappeared. The Alfred kept the Transport Ship under Convoy, having mounted her with Guns and manned her well—on the 22d they were off Canlo, the Alfred's Boats were sent to burn a Transport, laden with Provision, as she got ashore within the Harbour, and could not be got off—the Boats also burnt the Oil Stores, with their Contents, and all the Materials for the Whale Fishery. The 23d, the Alfred took three Transport Ships from Spanish River for New York, under Convoy of the Florida Frigate; it was then hazy, otherwise the Florida would have been within sight. On the 26th, the Alfred took a Merchant Ship, of 10 Guns, from Liverpool for Halifax; she had now five Ships under Convoy, and being unable to man a greater Number proceeded for Port. On the 31st December, on St. George's Bank, she was chased by a large Ship and ordered the Quebec Transport to make Sail and run a Head, some of the fastest sailing Ships accompanied her, and the Alfred fell in between them and the Stranger; the Wind shifted in the Night. The Alfred carried a top Light, and stood to the Northward. The Cloathing Ship and others that had been a Head stood on to the Southward—the strange Ship was near the Alfred in the Morning, and appeared a Man of War with St. George's Colours. The last taken Ship, as she sailed fast, was sent astern to view the Enemy and make a signal agreed on, if she was of superior Force, she made the signal that the Enemy was of superior Force—the Wind increased to a violent Gale in the Evening, and by that Means the Alfred and Prize Ship got clear of the Enemy, and the Alfred arrived safe in Nantasket Road the 16th current, having on board 140 Prisoners, among whom are, the Attorney-General of Canada, with Lady and Family, and several Officers and Soldiers—the had only two Day's Provision left, and left Rhode Island with no more than 140 Officers and Men. The Quebec Transport is called the METLISH—the was lately a Bomb in the English Service, and was then named the THUNDER.

PHILADELPHIA.

IN CONGRESS, November 25, 1776.

Resolved, That the rank of the Naval Officers be to the rank of Officers in the Land Service, as follows.

Admiral	as a General
Vice Admiral	Lieutenant-General.
Rear Admiral	Major-General.
Commodore	Brigadier-General.
Captain of a ship of 40 guns and upwards	Colonel.
Captain of 20 to 40 guns	Lieutenant Colonel.
Captain of 10 to 20 guns	Major.
Lieutenant in the Navy	Captain.

That the pay of all officers and men in the American Navy, from the date of the new commissions under the Free and Independent States of America, be as follows.

	60 Dollars by Calendar Month.	48 Dollars.
Captain	30 ditto.	24 ditto.
Lieutenant	30 ditto.	24 ditto.
Master	25 ditto.	20 ditto.
Master's Mate	25 ditto.	20 ditto.
Boatswain	25 ditto.	20 ditto.
Boatswain's Mate	9 one Half ditto.	9 ditto.
Gunner	15 ditto.	12 ditto.
Gunner's Mate	9 one Half ditto.	9 ditto.
Surgeon	25 ditto.	21 2-thirds do.
Surgeon's-Mate	15 ditto.	13 2-thirds ditto.
Carpenter	15 ditto.	12 ditto.
Carpenter's-Mate	9 one Half ditto.	9 ditto.
Cooper	9 ditto.	9 ditto.
Midshipman	12 ditto.	12 ditto.
Armourer	9 ditto.	9 ditto.
Sail-maker	10 ditto.	10 ditto.
Sailmaker's mate	8 one Third ditto.	8 1-Third do.
Yeoman	8 one Half ditto.	8 1-Half ditto.
Quarter-Master	9 ditto.	8 1-Half ditto.
Cook	9 ditto.	8 1-Half ditto.
Coxswain	9 ditto.	9 ditto.
Captain's Clerk	15 ditto.	12 ditto.
Steward	10 ditto.	10 ditto.
Chaplain	20 ditto.	
Yeoman of the Powder-Room	9 One Half ditto.	9 ditto.
Master at Arms	10 ditto.	9 ditto.
Samen	8 ditto.	8 ditto.

Vessels under 20 guns to be commanded by Lieutenants.

Lieutenant commanding	30 Dollars.
Mates	15 ditto.
Boatswain	12 ditto.
Gunner	12 ditto.
Carpenter	12 ditto.

The other officers and men the same as in vessels from 10 to 20 guns.

MARINE OFFICERS.

Captain	30 Dollars per Calendar month.
Lieutenant	20 ditto.
Serjeant	8 ditto.
Corporal, Drum and Fife, each	7 One Third ditto.
Privates	6 Two Thirds do.

By Order of Congress, JOHN HANCOCK, President.

TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION. On FRIDAY the 27th of December, At WILLIAM GREENLEAF'S Office in Court PART of the CARGO of the prize ship J. CAESAR, consisting of 50 dozen women's shoes, 12 dozen ditto of leather, 4 pieces of drab, 20 dozen of 7 1/2 handkerchiefs, 12 pieces ditto, 12 pieces ditto, 4 pieces white ditto, 1 black denim, 5 pieces corduroy, 2 pieces velvet, 12 pieces Dutch cord, 10 pieces flowered d. mity, 1 broad cord, 3 pieces printed jennet, 4 pieces silk, 1 box spices sorted, a box of stationary for pieces 3 1/2 blue handkerchiefs, 9 pieces red ditto, 9 light ground ditto, 5 pieces purple ditto, 1 piece ditto, 17 pieces printed linen, 7 pieces light chin pieces calico, 14 pieces figured lawns, 9 pieces plain, 6 pieces long lawn, 1 piece yard wide jennet, 1 jacket, 1 piece striped and checked durie, 6 dozen per table cloths, 13 pieces cambric, and 45 small flannel sorts. The sale will begin at ten o'clock.

To be sold by PUBLIC AUCTION. On Thursday the 2d of January next, At Bedford in Dartmouth, THE prize ship HESTER, and her CARGO 175 hogheads and tierces of Jamaica sugar, punchons of rum, London proof; hogheads of 20 bags of pimento; 20 tons fish; 20 tons of wood, and a quantity of copper.

At the same time and place will be sold, THE ship ALEXANDER, and her CARGO consisting of between 3 and 4000 quintals of chantable fish. The ship Hester is about 370 tons, river built, 5 years old, and is well found. The ship Alexander about 240 tons. The sale will begin at XI o'clock.

To be Sold at PUBLIC AUCTION, On FRIDAY the 27th December last, AT TEN o'clock, A. M. At the House of BEN. BURDICK, Jun. in Marble THE prize brig BATTERY, about 120 tons built an English built vessel, well found, with full rigging; her cables about 100 fathoms, each almost with a hawser partly worn, 3 good anchors, boat—Inventory to be seen, and vessel and appurtenances to be reviewed any time before the sale, by appointment.

At the same Time and Place, Will be Sold at V. E. N. D. U. E. An English cable, call'd 130 fathom in length all 12 inches, about 3800 wt. never used; 10 5 inch, about 100 fathom each, partly worn of 100 wt. 1 ditto of 100 wt. 4 new short pounders, 4 new swivels, well mounted upon boxes, with all the apparatus; a new in-fall and top-fall, of the best English ducking of 150 or 200 tons; several other very fine; a sloop's job almost new; a chest of tools, consisting of saws, augurs, caulking iron, mauls, cannippers, planes, &c. & implements.

of Massachusetts-Bay. } To all whom it may concern. I, the undersigned, in behalf of the owners, and the officers and crew on board the schooner DOLPHIN, against the brigantine L. about 90 tons, said to be the property of the King of Great-Britain.—Another in behalf of Thomas Stinson, Esq; and other he sloop Sally, burthened about 70 tons, then improved in carrying supplies to the American States.—Another Livel is filed by William Elliot, and others, against a schooner unknown, burthened about 70 tons, formerly to be under the care of — Victim by the armed ship Albany, in the service of Great-Britain, and retaken by the said ers. All which vessels were taken and brought to this district. And for the trial of the justice of the said Maritime Court for said district will be held Precinct in Pownalboro, on Thursday the 1st January 1777, at the hour of Ten in the forenoon, when all Persons concerned in said Vessels, tenancors or Cargoes, may appear and show they have, why they or either of them should be condemned. TIM. LANGDON. (said to)

ZEBADIAH ABBOT SIREN all Persons having Demands upon for Nitre, to bring their Receipts immediately to pay them. Answer, Dec. 15, 1776. He will attend the Business on Thursday next.

given for all Kinds of Shipp by JAMES JACKSON, in Union-brook below the Market-House.

Persons indebted to, or have any Demands upon of Major Edmund Soper, late of Brandy, are desired to bring in their Accounts to Edm. Soper, Administrator, who will pay said Accounts on Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays, December 6, 1776. [s] (78)

WANTED TO HIRE, MAN to tend in a tavern, take care of horses. Enquire of the PRINTERS.

It was settled at length. (1) see index, under naval affairs. & see index, under Mon of War.

THE CONTINENTAL JOURNAL, AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

THURSDAY,

Oct 22, 1779

[NUMB. CXXVI]

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Oct. 17, 1779, p. 1018

AUCTION

THE ENTIRE PROPERTY OF EVERY STATE, DEPENDS UPON THE DISCIPLINE OF ITS ARMIES,

THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

In the Year of our LORD, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy eight.

An Act to prevent the Return to this State of certain Persons therein named, and others, who have left this State, or either of the United States, and joined the Enemies thereof.

WHEREAS Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. late Governor of this State, Francis Bernard, Esq. formerly Governor of this State, Thomas Mifflin, Esq. late Lieutenant-Governor of this State, Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick, in the County of Worcester, Esq. William Apthorp, merchant, Gibbs Atkins, cabinet-maker, John Atkins, John Amory, James Anderson, Thomas Apthorp, David Black, William Burton, William Bowes, George Bradley, Robert Blair, Thomas Brindley, James Barrick, merchants, Thomas Brattle, Esq. Sampson Salter Blowers, Esq. James Bruce, Ebenezer Bridgman, Alexander Brymer, Edward Berry, merchants, William Burch, late commissioner of the customs, Esq. Mather Byler, jun. clerk, William Codner, book-keeper, Edward Cox, merchant, Andrew Carnesau, Esq. barrister at law, Henry Conner, clerk, Thomas Courtney, tailor, Richard Clark, Esq. Isaac Clark, physician, Benjamin Church, physician, John Coffin, distiller, John Clark, physician, Wm. Coffin, Esq. Nath. Coffin, Esq. Jon. Clark, merchant, Archibald Cunningham, shop-keeper, Gilbert Deblon, merchant, Lewis Deblon, merch. Philip Dumaresque, merchant, Benjamin Davis, merchant, John Erving, jun. Esq. George Erving, Esq. Edward Foster, and Edward Foster, jun. blacksmiths, Benjamin Fawcett, jun. merchant, Thomas Fletcher, Esq. late Secretary for Massachusetts Bay, Samuel Fitch, Esq. Wilfred Fisher, carter, James Forell, merchant, Lewis Gray, merchant, Francis Green, merchant, Joseph Green, Esq. Silvester Gardiner, Esq. Harrison Gray, Esq. late treasurer of Massachusetts Bay, Harrison Gray, jun. clerk to the treasurer, Joseph Goldthwait, Esq. Martin Gay, founder, John Gore, Esq. Benjamin Halliwell, Esq. Robert Halliwell, Esq. Thomas Hutchinson, jun. Esq. Benjamin Gridley, Esq. Frederick William Geyer, merchant, John Greenlaw, shopkeeper, David Green, merchant, Elisha Hutchinson, Esq. James Hall, mariner, Foster Hutchinson, Esq. Benjamin Malbury Holmes, distiller, Samuel Hodges, book-keeper, Henry Hulston, Esq. Hawes Hatch, Wharfinger, John Joy, housewright, Peter Johonnot, distiller, William Jackson, merchant, John Jefferies, physician, Henry Laughton, merchant, James Henderson, trader, John Hinson, yeoman, Christopher Hatch, mariner, Robert Jarvis, mariner, Richard Lechmere, Esq. Edward Lyde, merchant, Henry Lloyd, Esq. George Leonard, miller, Henry Liddle, book-keeper, Archibald McNeal, baker, Christopher Minor, tide-waiter, John Murray, Esq. William M'Alpin, book-binder, Thomas Mitchell, mariner, William Martin, Esq. John Kutton, tallow chandler, Thomas Knight, shopkeeper, Samuel Prince, merchant, Adino Paddock, Esq. Charles Paxton, Esq. Sir William Pepperel, baronet, John Powell, Esq. William Lee Perkins, physician, Nathaniel Perkins, Esq. Samuel Quincey, Esq. Owen Richards, tide-waiter, Samuel Rogers, merchant, Jonathan Simpson, Esq. George Spooner, merchant, Edward Stowe, mariner, Richard Smith, merchant, Jonathan Snelling, Esq. Daniel Silby, trader, Samuel Sewel, Esq. Abraham Savage, tax gatherer, Joseph Scott, Esq. Francis

Skinner, clerk to the late council, William Simpson, merchant, Richard Sherwin, saddler, Henry Smith, merchant, John Semple, merchant, Robert Semple, merchant, Thomas Selkridge, merchant, James Selkridge, merchant, Robert Service, trader, Simon Talt, trader, Arodi Thayer, late martial to the admiralty court, Nathaniel Taylor, deputy naval officer, John Trouthbeck, clerk, Gregory Townsend, Esq. William Taylor, merchant, William Vassal, Esq. Joseph Taylor, merchant, John Upham, Esq. William Walter, clerk, Samuel Waterhouse, merchant, Isaac Winslow, merchant, John Winslow, jun. merchant, David Willis, mariner, Obadiah Whiston, blacksmith, Archibald Wilson, trader, John White, mariner, William Warden, peruke maker, Nathaniel Mills, John Hicks, John How, and John Fleming, printers, all of Boston, in the county of Suffolk, Robert Auchmuty, Esq. Joshua Loring, Esq. both of Roxbury, in the same county, Samuel Goldsby, yeoman, of Wrentham, in the county of Suffolk, Joshua Loring, jun. merchant, Nathaniel Hatch, Esq. both of Dorchester in the same county, William Brown, Esq. Benjamin Pickman, Esq. Samuel Porter, Esq. John Sargeant, trader, all of Salem, in the county of Essex, Richard Saltouall, Esq. of Haverhill, in the same county, Thomas Moberg, trader, Benjamin Marlton, merchant, both of Marblehead, in said county of Essex, Moses Badger, clerk, of Haverhill, aforesaid, Jonathan Sewall, Esq. John Vassal, Esq. David Phipps, Esq. John Nutting, carpenter, all of Cambridge in the county of Middlesex, Isaac Royall, Esq. of Medford, in the same county, Henry Barnes, of Marlborough, in said county of Middlesex, merchant, Jeremiah Dummer Rogers, of Littleton, in the same county, Esquire, Daniel Bliss, of Concord, in the said county of Middlesex, Esq. Charles Ruffel, of Lincoln, in the same county, physician, Joseph Adams, of Townsend, in said county of Middlesex, physician, Thomas Danforth, of Charlestown, in said county, Esq. Joshua Smith, trader, of Townsend, in said county, Joseph Ashley, jun. gentleman, of Sunderland, Nathaniel Dickerson, gentleman of Deerfield, Samuel Bliss, shopkeeper, of Greenfield, Roger Dickenson, yeoman, Josiah Punsy, physician, and Thomas Cutler gentleman, of Hatfield, Jonathan Bliss, Esq. of Springfield, William Galway, yeoman of Conway, Elijah Williams, attorney at law of Deerfield, James Oliver, gentleman, of Conway, all in the county of Hampshire, Pelham Winslow, Esq. Cornelius White, mariner, Edward Winslow, jun. Esq. all of Plymouth, in the county of Plymouth, Peter Oliver, Esq. Peter Oliver jun. physician, both of Middleborough, in the same county, Josiah Edson, Esq. of Bridgewater, in the said county of Plymouth, Lieutenant Daniel Dunbar, of Halifax, in the same county, Charles Curtis, of Scituate, in said county of Plymouth, gentleman, Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Esq. Israel Tilden, Caleb Carver, Seth Bryant, Benjamin Walker, Gideon Walker, Zera Walker, Adam Hall, junior, Isaac Joice, Joseph Phillips, Daniel White, jun. Cornelius White, tennis, Melzer Carver, Luke Hall, Thomas Decrow, John Baker, jun. all of Marshfield, in the said county of Plymouth, Gideon White, jun. Daniel Leonard, Esq. Seth Williams, jun. gentleman, Solomon Smith, boatman, all of Taunton, in the county of Bristol, Thomas Gilbert, Esquire Perez Gilbert, Ebenezer Hathaway, jun. Lord Strange, the third, Z. bedee Terce, Bradford Gilbert, all of Freetown, in the same county, Joshua

Broomer, Shadrack Hathaway, Calvin Hathaway, Luther Hathaway, Henry Tiffl, William Burden, Levi Chace, Shadrack Chace, Richard Holland, Ebenezer Phillips, Samuel Gilbert, gentleman, Thomas Gilbert, yeoman, both of Berkley, in the said county of Bristol, Ammi Chace, Caleb Wheaton, Joshua Wilborne, Lemuel Bourn, gentleman, Thomas Perry, yeoman, David Atkins, labourer, Samuel Perry, mariner, Stephen Perry, labourer, John Blackwell, jun. labourer, Francis Finny, labourer, and Nehemiah Webb, mariner, all of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, Eldad Tupper, of Dartmouth, in the county of Bristol, labourer, Silas Perry, labourer, Seth Perry, mariner, Elisha Bourn, gentleman, Thomas Bumpus, yeoman, Ephraim Ellis, jun. yeoman, Edward Bourn, gentleman, Nicholas Cobb, labourer, William Bourn, cordwainer, all of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, and Seth Bangs, of Harwich, in the county of Barnstable, mariner, John Chandler, Esq. James Putnam, Esq. Rufus Chandler, gentleman, William Paine, physician, Adam Walker, blacksmith, William Chandler, gentleman, all of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, John Walker, gentleman, David Bush, yeoman, both of Shrewsbury, in the same county, Abijah Willard, Esq. Abel Willard, Esq. Joseph House, yeoman, all of Lancaster, in the said county of Worcester, Ebenezer Cutler, trader, James Eager, yeoman, both of Northborough, in the same county, Daniel Oliver, Esq. Richard Ruggles, yeoman, Gardner Chandler, trader, Joseph Ruggles, gentleman, Nathaniel Ruggles, yeoman, all of Hardwick, in the said county of Worcester, John Ruggles, yeoman, of said Hardwick, John Eager, yeoman, Ebenezer Whipple, Israel Conkey, John Murray, Esq. of Rutland, in said county of Worcester, Daniel Murry, gentleman, Samuel Murry, gentleman, Michael Martin, trader, of Brookfield, in the said county of Worcester, Thomas Beaman, gentleman, of Petersham, in the same county, Nathaniel Chandler, gentleman, John Bowen, gentleman, of Princetown, in the said county of Worcester, James Crag, gentleman, of Ockham, in the same county, Thomas Mullins, blacksmith, of Leoniafter, in the said county of Worcester, Francis Waldo, Esq. Arthur Savage, Esq. Jeremiah Pote, mariner, Thomas Rols, mariner, James Wildridge, mariner, George Lyde, custom-house officer, Robert Pagau, merchant, Thomas Wyer, mariner, Thomas Coulson, merchant, John Wistwall, clerk, Joshua Eldridge, mariner, Thomas Oxnard, merchant, Edward Oxnard, merchant, William Tyng, Esq. John Wright, merchant, Samuel Longfellow, mariner, all of Falmouth, in the county of Cumberland, Charles Callahan, of Pownaborough, in the county of Lincoln, mariner, Jonas Jones, of East-Hoosuck, in the county of Berkshire, David Ingersoll, of Great-Barrington, in the same county, Esq. Jonathan Prindall, Benjamin Noble, Francis Noble, Elisha Jones, of Pittsfield, in the said county of Berkshire, yeoman, John Graves, yeoman, Daniel Brewer, yeoman, both of Pittsfield aforesaid, Richard Square, of Lanesborough, in the said county of Berkshire, Ephraim Jones, of East-Hoosuck, in the same county, Lewis Hubbel, and many other persons, have left the State, or some other of the United States of America, and joined the enemies thereof. Thereby not only depriving these States of their personal services, at a time when they ought to have afforded their utmost aid in defending the said States, against the inva-

If see the act establishing oath of allegiance, p. 1034, & see index, under Army British, & Men of War, & see index, under their names, & see index, under the names of the said persons, and was sent off. & see index, under Commissioners of the Customs, & see index, under Sea, & see index, under Church & Cong. & see index, under Mandamus & Councilors, & see p. 549, 543, 556. & see index, under the admiralty & Court & A Vile Traitor who commanded an Armed Vessel, against the United States

It is therefor enacted by the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That if in and to Thomas Hutchinson, Francis Bernard, Thomas Oliver, Timothy Ruggles, William Apthorp, Gibbs Aiskins, John Aikinsoo, J. h. Amory, James Anderson, Thomas Apthorp, David Black, William Bowne, William Bowes, George Brindley, Robert Blair, Thomas Brindley, James Barrick, Thomas Brittle, Sampson Butler Bowers, James Bruce, Ebenezer Bridgman, Alexander Bryner, Edward Barry, William Burch, Mather Byler, jun. William Cadore, Edward Cox, Andrew Cabassa, Henry Candler, Thomas C.ortney, Richard Clark, Isaac Clark, Benjamin Church, John Coffin, John Clark, William Coffin, Nathaniel Coffin, Jonathan Clark, Archibald Cunningham, Gilbert Dablos, Lewis Dablos, Philip Dumaresque, Benjamin Day, J. h. Erving, jun. George Erving, Edward Foster, Edward Foster, jun. Benjamin Fessell, jun. Thomas Flukes, Samuel Fitch, Wilkes Fifield, James Fitch, Lewis G. ay, Francis Green, Joseph Green, Silvester Garrison, Harrison G. ay, Harrison Gray, jun. Joseph Giddswain, Martin Gay, John Gire, Benjamin Hollowell, Robert H. Howell, Thomas Hutchinson, jun. Benjamin Givley, Frederick William Geyer, J. h. Greenlaw, David G. erson, Elisha Hutchinson, James Hall, Foster Hutchinson, Benjamin Mumby, H. erson, Samuel Hodgson Henry Hutton, Haws Hatch, J. h. Jay, Peter Johanneo, William Jocke, a. John Jeffery, Henry Laughlin, jun. James Hardison, John H. A. n, Christopher Hatch, Robert Jarvis, Richard Lechmere, Edward Lyde, Harry Lloyd, George Leonard, Henry Liddle, Archibald MacNeil, Christopher Minot, James Murray, William McAlpine, Thomas Mitchell, William Martin, John Knutson, Thomas Knight, Samuel Prince, Adino Paddock, Charles Paxton, Sir William Pepprell, John Powell, William Lee Perkins, Nathaniel Perkins, Samuel Quincy, Owen Richards, Samuel Rogers, Jonathan Simpson, George Spitzer, Edward Stowe, Richard Smith, Jonathan Seeling, Daniel Silsby, Samuel Sewall, Abraham Savage, Joseph Scott, Francis Skinner, William Simpson, Richard Shawin, Henry Smith, John Temple, Robert Temple, Thomas Selkridge, James Selkridge, Robert Sevice, Simon Tolts, Arcata Thayer, Nathaniel Taylor, John T.oubbeck, Gregory Townsend, William Taylor, William Vissal, Joseph Taylor, J. h. Upham, Wm. Walter, Sam. Waterhouse, Isaac W. d. w, John Windsor, jun. David Willis, Obadiah Whitman, A. chibald Wilcox, John White, Wm. Warden, Nathaniel Miller, John Hicks, J. h. Howe, Jos. Fleming, Robert A. chmury, Johnis Loring, Samuel Goldfarb, Julius Loring, jun. Nathaniel Hatch, William Bown, Benjamin Pickman, Samuel P. eter, J. h. Sejanet, Richard Saltonhall, Thomas Roby, Benjamin MacA. n, Moses Badger, J. anthas Bewall, John Vassil, David Phillips, John Nutting, Isaac Royal, Henry B. anes, Jeremiah Dummer Rogers, Daniel Bluff, Charles Ruffel, Joseph Adams, Thomas Danforth, J. h. uis Smith, Joseph Ashley, jun. Nathaniel Dickinson, Samuel Bluff, Roger Dickinson, J. h. Pomeroy, Thomas Ceder, Jonathan Biss, William Galsway, Esq. Williams, J. mes Oliver, Pelum Winslow, Cornelius W. ite, Edward Winslow, jun. Peter Oliver, Peter Oliver, jun. Josiah Ellison, Daniel Dunbar, Charles Curtis, Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Israel Tilden, Caleb Carter, Seth Bryant, B. j. Walker, Gideon Walker, Zera W. lker, Adam Hall, tertius Isaac J. nce, Joseph Phillips, Daniel White, Jos. Cornelius White, tertius, Milgar Carter, Luke Hall, Thomas Decrow, John Baker jun. Gideon Waite, jun. Daniel Leonard, Seth Williams, jun. Solomon Smith, Thomas Gilbert, Peter Gilbert, Ebenezer Hathaway, jun. Lot. Savage, the third, Z. bedes Taylor, Bedford Gilbert, J. h. Broomer, Shadrach Hathaway, C. Hathaway Luther Hathaway, H. Tifted, Wm. Burden, Levi Chase, Shadrach Chase, Richard Holland, Ebenezer Phillips, Samuel Gilbert, Thomas Gilbert, jun. Ammi Casce, Caleb Whiston, John Wilbore, Lemuel Bourd, Thomas Perry, David A. hat, Samuel Perry, Stephen Perry, J. h. Blackwell, J. m. Francis Finny, N. hemiah Webb, E. dat. Tupper, Silas Perry, Seth Perry, E. Bourd, T. Bumpus, Ephraim Bliss, jun. Edward Bourd, Nicholas Cobb, William Burn, Seth Bago, J. h. Chandler, James Poinsam, Rufus Chandler, William Pair, Adam Walker, William Chandler, J. h. Walker, David Buff, Abijah Willard, A. el Willard, Joseph H. uis, Ebenezer Cutler, James Eiger, Daniel Oliver, Richard Ruggles, Gardner Ch adle, Joseph Ruggles, Nathaniel Ruggles, John Ruggles, John Eager, Ebenezer Whipple, Ilisha Coakar, John Murray, Daniel Murry, Samuel Merrey, Michael Merrey, Thomas Beamon, Nathaniel Chandler, J. h. Burden, James Crags, Thomas Mullins, Francis Wildo, Arthur Savage, Jeremiah P. te, Thomas R. ite, James Widdridge, George Lyde, Robert Pagan, Thomas Wye, Thomas Conlon, J. h. Willard, J. h. us Eldridge, Jos. W. Oxard, Edward Oxard, William Tyag, J. h. W. ight, Samuel Longfellow, Charles Callahan, James Jones, David Ingeroll, Jonathan Phidals, Benjamin Noble, Francis Noble, Eliza J. net, John Graves, Daniel Brewer, Richard Squares, Ephraim Jones, and Lewis Hubbard for any other Persons though not specially named in this Act, who have left this State, or either of said States, and joined the Enemies thereof as aforesaid, shall after the passing this Act, voluntarily return to this State, It shall be the duty of the Sheriff of the County, and of the Selectmen, Committee of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection, and of the Constables and T. h. agmen, and other inhabitants of the Town, wherein said Persons, or Persons may presume to come, and they are hereby respectively empowered and directed forthwith to apprehend and carry such Persons or Persons before some Justice of the Peace within the County, who is hereby required to bring him or them to the common Goal within

And the Secretary is directed to cause this A. G. to be published in the several *Exposé* News Papers, and also in Mass. Bills, and transmit Five Hundred Copies thereof to the Ministers of the said United States at the Court of France, as soon as may be, who are desired to cause the same to be made public as soon as may be after they shall have received the same, that so the Persons named and described herein may be deterred from attempting to come within this State.

Yesterday arriv'd a prize brigantine, captur'd by the Ballou and Providence frigates, laden'd with Lih.

& Several Persons are omitted in this list, viz. James Bonlineau, a Mandamus Councillor see the list, p. 549, &c. — J. Thomas Brown, a notorious Tory, &c

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Person who shall refuse or neglect to take said Oath or Affirmation, within Two Hours after the same shall be legally tendered him, shall be admitted to take said Oath or Affirmation, but shall be proceeded against as is prescribed by said Act.

to be had of the Printer hereof.

the Marginal Notes, pa. 1067 affixed to their names, recited before included in the above will
 (1) see index, under Army British. (2) see Treaty, pa. 1018. V see Act, pa. 1034.

¹⁰⁶⁷
see the Paper preceding this, marked 1067, being ^{twice} ~~many~~ paged;
being the Act against the return of Tories

AN
O R A T I O N

DELIVERED

March 11 5th, 1772.

1st Pa. 60. Vol. 3

1068

13 for two pages preceding this marked pa. 106
being act against the return of Tories, being
thrice paged.

ORATION

DELIVERED

March 21st 1777.

BY JOSEPH WARREN

1069

AN
ORATION

DELIVERED

MARCH 5th, 1772.

AT THE

REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS

OF THE

TOWN OF BOSTON;

TO

COMMEMORATE THE BLOODY TRAGEDY

OF THE

FIFTH OF March, 1770.

BY

Dr. JOSEPH WARREN.

Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum, Delopumve, aut duri miles Ulysses,
Temperet a lacrymis.

VIRGIL.

B O S T O N :

Printed by EDES and GILL, by Order of the Town of BOSTON.

1772.

1 See Page 60, Vol. 3. & See the appointment of this
Anniversary, pa. 442, Vol. 3

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of BOSTON, duly qualified and legally assembled in Faneuil-Hall, and from thence adjourn'd to the Old South Meeting-House, on Thursday the 5th Day of March, Anno Domini, 1772.

Voted Unanimously,

THAT the Moderator *Richard Dana, Esq;* the Honorable *John Hancock, Esq;* Mr. *Samuel Adams, Joseph Jackson, Esq;* Mr. *Henderson Inches, Mr. David Jeffries, and Mr. William Molineux,* be and hereby are appointed a Committee to return the Thanks of this Town to *Joseph Warren, Esq;* for the Oration just now delivered by him at their Request, in Commemoration of the horrid Massacre perpetrated on the Evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by a Party of Soldiers of the XXIXth Regiment; and to desire a Copy thereof for the Press.

Attest,

William Cooper, Town-Clerk.

GENTLEMEN,

THE generous Candor of my Fellow-Citizens prevails on me to give a Copy of what was Yesterday delivered, for the Press.

I am, Gentlemen, with much Respect,

Your most humble Servant,

JOSEPH WARREN.

March 6, 1772.

Vid *pa. 60, Vol. 3* - *see index under Troops British*
& see the appointment of the celebration of this Anniversary,
pa. 442, Vol. 3.

A N

O R A T I O N.

WHEN we turn over the historic page, and trace the rise and fall of states and empires; the mighty revolutions which have so often varied the face of the world strike our minds with solemn surprize, and we are naturally led to endeavor to search out the causes of such astonishing changes.

THAT Man is formed for *social life*, is an observation which upon our first enquiry presents itself immediately to our view, and our reason approves that wise and generous principle which actuated the first founders of civil government; an institution which hath its origin in the *weakness* of individuals, and hath for its end, the *strength and security* of all: And so long as the means of effecting this important end, are thoroughly known and religiously attended to, Government is one of the richest Blessings to mankind, and ought to be held in the highest veneration.

An ORATION.

IN young and new-formed communities, the grand design of this institution is most generally understood, and most strictly regarded; the motives which urged to the social compact cannot be at once forgotten, and *that* equality which is remembered to have subsisted so lately among them, prevents those who are clothed with authority from attempting to invade the freedom of their Brethren; or if such an attempt is made, it prevents the community from suffering the offender to go unpunished: Every member feels it to be his interest, and knows it to be his duty, to preserve inviolate the constitution on which the public safety depends*, and is equally ready to assist the *Magistrate* in the execution of the laws, and the *subject* in defence of his right; and so long as this noble attachment to a constitution, founded on free and benevolent principles exists in full vigor in any state, *that* state must be flourishing and happy.

IT was *this* noble attachment to a free constitution, which raised ancient Rome from the smallest beginnings to that bright summit of happiness and glory to which she arrived; and it was the loss of *this* which plunged her from *that* summit into the black gulph of infamy and slavery. It was *this* attachment which inspired her senators with wisdom; it was *this* which glowed in the breasts of her heroes; it was *this* which guarded her liberties, and extended her dominions, gave peace at home and commanded respect abroad: And when *this* decayed, her magistrates lost their reverence for justice and the laws, and degenerated into tyrants and oppressors—her se-

* Omnes ordines ad conservandam rempublicam, mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce, consentiunt. Cicero.

AN ORATION.

nations forgetful of their dignity, and seduced by base corruption, betrayed their country—her soldiers regardless of their relation to the community, and urged *only* by the hopes of plunder and rapine, unfeelingly committed the most flagrant enormities ; and hired to the trade of death, with relentless fury they perpetrated the most cruel murders, whereby the streets of imperial Rome were drenched with her *noblest* blood—Thus *this empress* of the world lost her dominions abroad, and her inhabitants dissolute in their manners, at length became contented *slaves* ; and she stands to this day, the scorn and derision of nations, and a monument of this eternal truth, that PUBLIC HAPPINESS DEPENDS ON A VIRTUOUS AND UNSHAKEN ATTACHMENT TO A FREE CONSTITUTION.

IT was *this* attachment to a constitution, founded on free and benevolent principles, which inspired the first settlers of this country:—They saw with grief the daring outrages committed on the free constitution of their native land—they knew that nothing but a civil war could at that time restore it's pristine purity. So hard was it to resolve to embue their hands in the blood of their brethren, that they chose rather to quit their fair possessions and seek another habitation^x in a distant clime——When they came^x to this new world, which they fairly purchased of the Indian natives, the only rightful proprietors, they cultivated the then barren soil by their incessant labor, and defended their dear-bought possessions with the fortitude of the christian, and the bravery of the hero.

2 The Pillars of the British Constitution, are contained; **AFTER**
in Magna Charta, see pa. 79a, 105a;—petition of right, pa. 81b;—Bill of
rights, pa. 105b, Vol. 2, & See when they came, pa. 107a, Vol. 2. & Merits of the
Mass.^a Bay, pa. 557

An ORATION.

AFTER various struggles, which during the tyrannic reigns of the house of STUART, were constantly kept up between right and wrong, between liberty and slavery, the connection between Great-Britain and this Colony was settled in the reign of King William and Queen Mary by a compact, the conditions of which were expressed in a Charter; by which all the liberties and immunities of BRITISH SUBJECTS were confirmed to this Province, as fully and as absolutely as they possibly could be by any human instrument which can be devised. And it is undeniably true, that the greatest and most important right of a British subject is, that *he shall be governed by no laws but those to which he either in person or by his representative hath given his consent*: And this I will venture to assert, is the grand basis of British freedom; it is interwoven with the constitution; and whenever this is lost, the constitution must be destroyed.

THE *British constitution* (of which yours is a copy) is a happy compound of the three forms (under some of which all governments may be ranged) viz. Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy: Of these three the *British Legislature* is composed, and without the consent of each branch, nothing can carry with it the force of a law: In most cases, either the aristocratic or the democratic branch may propose a law, and submit it to the deliberation of the other two; but, when a law is to be passed for raising a tax, that law can originate only in the democratic branch, which is the House of Commons in Britain, and the House of Representatives here—The reason is obvious: They, and their constituents are to pay much the largest

part

& *Vid the Charter, pa. 1077. Vol. 2.*

& *See Magna Charta, pa. 790. petition of rights, pa. 815. Bill of rights, pa. 1058. Vol. 2.*

An ORATION.

part of it, but as the aristocratic branch, which in Britain, is the House of Lords, and in this province, the Council, are also to pay some part, THEIR consent is necessary; and as the monarchic branch, which in Britain is the King, and with us, either the King in person, or the Governor whom he shall be pleased to appoint to act in his stead, is supposed to have a just sense of his own interest, which is *that* of all the subjects in general, HIS consent is also necessary, and when the consent of these three branches is obtained, the taxation is most certainly legal.

LET us now allow ourselves a few moments to examine the *late acts of the British parliament for taxing America*—Let us with candor judge whether they are constitutionally binding upon us:—If they are, IN THE NAME OF JUSTICE let us submit to them, without one murmuring word.

FIRST, I would ask whether the members of the British House of Commons are the Democracy of this Province? if they are, they are either the people of this province, or are elected by the people of this province, to represent them, and have therefore a constitutional right to originate a Bill for taxing them: It is most certain they are neither; and therefore nothing done by *them* can be said to be done by the democratic branch of our constitution. I would next ask, whether the Lords who compose the aristocratic branch of the British legislature, are Peers of America? I never heard it was (even in these extraordinary times) so much as pretended,

B

and

✧ *Tax Acts, viz. Molasses Act. vid pa, q. Vol. 2, —*

Tea Act, pa. 735. Vol. 1. ✕ See Charter, pa. 1077 Vol. 2.

✧ *See magna Charta, pa. 790—petition of right, pa. 816.—Bill of rights, pa. 1053. Vol. 2.*

AN ORATION.

and if they are not, certainly no act of *theirs* can be said to be the act of the aristocratic branch of our constitution. The power of the monarchic branch we with pleasure acknowledge resides in the King, who may act either in person or by his representative; and I freely confess that I can see no reason why a PROCLAMATION for raising money in America issued by the King's sole authority, would not be equally consistent with our constitution, and therefore equally binding upon us with the late acts of the British parliament for taxing us; for it is plain, that if there is any validity in those acts, it must arise altogether from the monarchical branch of the legislature: And I further think that it would be at least as equitable; for I do not conceive it to be of the least importance to us by whom our property is taken away, so long as it is taken without our consent; and I am very much at a loss to know by what figure of rhetoric, the inhabitants of this province can be called FREE SUBJECTS, when they are obliged to obey implicitly, such laws as are made for them by men three thousand miles off, whom they know not, and whom they never have empowered to act for them; or how they can be said to have PROPERTY, when a body of men over whom they have not the least controul, and who are not in any way accountable to them, shall oblige them to deliver up any part, or the whole of their substance, without even asking their consent: And yet, whoever pretends that the late acts of the British parliament for taxing America ought to be deemed binding upon us, must admit at once that we are absolute SLAVES, and have no property of our own; or else that we may be FREE-MEN, and at the same time under a necessity of obeying the arbitrary commands of those over

whom
 ♦ In special the Molasses Act, vid. pa. 9, Vol. 2.—

— Tea Act, pa. 735, Vol. 1. — x See Our Charter, pa. 1077, Vol. 2. || See declaratory Act, pa. 524.

AN ORATION.

whom we have no controul or influence; and that we may HAVE PROPERTY OF OUR OWN, which is entirely at the disposal of another. Such gross absurdities, I believe will not be relished in this enlightened age: And it can be no matter of wonder that the people quickly perceived, and seriously complained of the inroads which these acts must unavoidably make upon their Liberty, and of the hazard to which their whole property is by them exposed; for, if they may be taxed without their consent even the smallest trifle, they may also without their consent be deprived of every thing they possess, although never so valuable, never so dear. Certainly it never entered the hearts of our ancestors, that after so many dangers in this then desolate wilderness, their hard-earned property should be at the disposal of the British parliament; and as it was soon found that this taxation could not be supported by reason and argument, it seemed necessary that one act of oppression should be enforced by another, and therefore, contrary to our just rights⁽¹⁾ as possessing, or at least having a just title to possess, all the liberties and IMMUNITIES of British subjects, a standing army⁽²⁾ was established among us in time of peace; and evidently for the purpose of effecting that, which it was one principal design of the founders of the constitution⁽²⁾ to prevent, (when they declared a standing army in time of peace to be AGAINST LAW) namely, for the enforcement of obedience to acts which upon fair examination appeared to be unjust and unconstitutional.⁽²⁾ ¶

¶ In spend the Tax on Molasses, vid. pa. 9. Vol. 2. — on Tea, vid. pa.

735. Vol. 1. // vid. Arrival of Army, &c. pa. 263. — 297. Vol. 2.

A vid. Bill of Rights page 1053, Vol. 2.

¶ see declaratory Act, pa. 324. (1) see index es, under Towns, Assemblies, petitions, addresses, remonstrances, Letters, &c. &c. Representations.

¶ see list of Privileges, pa. 971. (2) see magna, Charta, pa. 790. — 1050. — petition of right, pa. 816. — Bill of rights, pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

An ORATION.

THE ruinous consequences of standing armies to free communities may be seen in the histories of SYRACUSE, ROME, and many other once flourishing STATES; some of which have now scarce a name! Their baneful influence is most suddenly felt, when they are placed in populous cities; for, by a corruption of morals, the public happiness is immediately affected; and that this is one of the effects of quartering troops in a populous city, is a truth, to which many a mourning parent, many a lost, despairing child in this metropolis, must bear a very melancholy testimony. Soldiers are also taught to consider arms as the only arbiters by which every dispute is to be decided between contending states;—they are instructed *implicitly* to obey their commanders, without enquiring into the justice of the cause they are engaged to support: Hence it is, that they are ever to be dreaded as the ready engines of tyranny and oppression. And it is too observable that they are prone to introduce the same mode of decision in the disputes of individuals, and from thence have often arisen great animosities between *them* and *the inhabitants*, who whilst in a naked defenceless state, are frequently insulted and abused by an armed soldiery. And this will be more especially the case, when the troops are informed, that the intention of their being stationed in any city, is to OVERAWE THE INHABITANTS. That, *this* was the avowed design of stationing an armed force in this town, is sufficiently known; and WE, my fellow-citizens have seen, WE have felt the tragical effects!—THE FATAL FIFTH OF MARCH 1770, CAN NEVER BE FORGOTTEN—The horrors of THAT DREADFUL NIGHT are but too deeply impressed on our hearts—Language is too feeble to paint the emotions of our souls, when our streets were stained with the BLOOD

¶ Vid, *Journal of the Times*, pa. 323, &c. vol. 2.

¶ Vid, *Arrival of Troops*, &c. pa. 263.—297. Vol. 2.

¶ Vid, pa. 60. Vol. 3. & see indexes, under Troops, Soldiers, & Standing Armies.

An ORATION.

OF OUR BRETHREN,—when our ears were wounded by the groans of the *dying*, and our eyes were tormented with the sight of the mangled bodies of the *dead*.—When our alarmed imagination presented to our view our houses wrapt in flames,—our children subjected to the barbarous caprice of the raging soldiery,—our beauteous virgins exposed to all the insolence of unbridled passion,—our virtuous wives endeared to us by every tender tie, falling a sacrifice to ~~the~~ worse than brutal violence, and perhaps like the famed LUCRETIA, distracted with anguish and despair, ending their wretched lives by their own fair hands.—When we beheld the authors of our distress parading in our streets, or drawn up in regular *battalia*, as though in a hostile city; our hearts beat to arms; we snatched our weapons, almost resolved by one decisive stroke, to avenge the death of our SLAUGHTERED BRETHREN, and to secure from future danger, all that we held most dear: But propitious heaven forbade the bloody carnage, and saved the threatned victims of our too keen resentment, not by their discipline, not by their regular array,—no, it was royal GEORGE'S livery that proved their shield—it was that which turned the pointed engines of destruction from their breasts.† The thoughts of vengeance were soon buried in our inbred affection to Great-Britain, and calm reason dictated a method of removing the troops more mild than an immediate recourse to the sword. With united efforts

† I have the strongest reason to believe that I have mentioned the only circumstance, which saved the troops from destruction. It was then, and now is, the opinion of those who were best acquainted with the state of affairs at that time, that had thrice that number of troops, belonging to any power at open war with us, been in this town in the same exposed condition, scarce a man would have lived to have seen the morning light.

✓ *vid. the account of the Massacre, p. 60. Vol. 3.*
 ✓ *see indexes, under Troops British.*

AN ORATION.

efforts you urged the immediate departure of the troops from the town—you urged it, with a resolution which ensured success—you obtained your wishes, and the removal of the troops was effected, without one drop of *their blood* being shed by the inhabitants !

THE immediate actors in the tragedy of THAT NIGHT were surrendered to justice:—It is not mine to say how far they were guilty ! they have been tried by the country and ACQUITTED of murder ! And they are not to be again arraigned at an earthly bar : But, surely the men who have promiscuously scattered death amidst the innocent inhabitants of a populous city, ought to see well to it, that they be prepared to stand at the bar of an OMNISCIENT JUDGE ! And all who contrived or encouraged the stationing troops in this place, have reasons of eternal importance, to reflect with deep contrition on their base designs, and humbly to repent of their impious machinations.

THE infatuation which hath seemed for a number of years to prevail in the British councils with regard to us, is truly astonishing !

What can be proposed by the repeated attacks made upon our freedom, I really cannot surmise ; even leaving justice and humanity out of the question, I do not know one single advantage which can arise to the British nation, from our being enslaved:—I know not of any gains, which can be wrung from us by oppression, which they may not obtain from us by our own consent in the smooth channel of commerce : We wish the wealth and prosperity of Britain ; we contribute largely to both.—Doth what we contribute lose all its value,

because

& vid. pa. 61. Vol. 3. & vid. pa. 60. Vol. 3.

& vid. the Trial, page, 785, &c. Vol. 3. & vid. Verdict, pa. 992

—Vol. 3. & vid. arrival of Troops, &c. pa. 263. Vol. 2—297. Vol.

—vid also Journal of Times pa. 323. &c. Vol. 2.

(3) See Pitt's speech, pa. 403, Vol. 1, & index, under American Colonies.

Vid

Gov.

Barnard

Letters, pa.

463. &c. &

page, 831. &c.

& Commissioners

Letters, page

915, &c. Vol. 2

(1) as by mo-

lapses act, pa.

9. vol. 2. Tea

act pa. 735

Vol. 1.

(a) & Hutchin-

sons Letters, see

index, under

Letters (2). See

list of Grievan-

ces, pa. 971

AN ORATION.

because it is done voluntarily? The amazing increase of riches to Britain, the great rise of the value of her lands, the flourishing state of her navy; are striking proofs of the advantages derived to her, from her commerce with the Colonies^(a); and it is our earnest desire that she may still continue to enjoy the same emoluments, until her streets are paved with AMERICAN GOLD^(a); only, let us have the pleasure of calling it our own, whilst it is in our hands;—but this it seems is too great a favor—we are to be governed by the absolute commands of others, our property is to be taken away without our consent⁽¹⁾—if we complain, our complaints are treated with contempt; if we assert our rights, that assertion is deemed insolence; if we humbly offer to submit the matter to the impartial decision of reason, the SWORD is judged the most proper argument to silence our murmurs!—But, this cannot long be the case—surely, the British nation will not suffer the reputation of their justice, and their honor, to be thus sported away by a capricious ministry⁽²⁾; no, they will in a short time open their eyes to their true interest: They nourish in their own breasts a noble love of Liberty, they hold her dear⁽³⁾, and they know that all who have once possessed her charms had rather die than suffer her to be torn from their embraces—They are also sensible that Britain is so deeply interested in the prosperity of the colonies, that she must eventually feel every wound given to their freedom; they cannot be ignorant that more dependence may be placed on the affections of a BROTHER, than on the forced services of a SLAVE—They must approve your efforts⁽⁴⁾ for the preservation of your rights; from a sympathy of soul they must pray for your success: And I doubt not but they will e'er long.

As by the Molasses act, vid pa. 9. Vol. 2. — by Tea act, &c.,

vid pa. 735. Vol. 1. & vid Resolves, Remonstrances, Letters, &c. of the Respective Houses of Representatives, under their Respective heads, in Index Vol. 2, & 3, See (a) see Pitts speech, pa. 403, Vol. 1. — & indexes, under American Colonies, (b) They don't nom.

(7) Efforts, see indexes, under Towns, County, assemblies, representatives, natives, resolves, riots, merchants agreements, petitions, Congress, Continental, & Provincial, rising of the Country, Army of the United Colonies, Naval Affairs.

vid the Arrival of Fleet & Army pa. 263—297. Vol. 2.

(1) see declaration act, pa. 524. — & list of Grievances, pa. 971.

(2) see American rights, pa. 1089, 1228.

(3) see list of Grievances, pa. 971. — & C. N. S. pa. 740, &c.

(4) yes they would?

(5) They did not!

An ORATION.

exert themselves effectually to redress your grievances. Even in the dissolute reign of king CHARLES II. when the house of Commons impeached the Earl of Clarendon of high treason, the first article on which they founded their accusation was, that "he had designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the kingdom thereby."

(a) *see Grievances of America, pa. 632, Vol. 2. & pa. 971. & Crisis, pa. 740, &c.* And the eighth article was, that "he had introduced an arbitrary government into his Majesty's plantations". (a) A terrifying example, to those who are now forging chains for this COUNTRY! (a)

You have my friends and countrymen often frustrated the designs of your enemies, by your unanimity and fortitude: It was your union and determined spirit which expelled those troops, who polluted your streets with INNOCENT BLOOD.—You have appointed this anniversary as a standing memorial of the BLOODY CONSEQUENCES OF PLACING AN ARMED FORCE IN A POPULOUS CITY, and of your deliverance from the dangers which then seemed to hang over your heads; and I am confident that you never will betray the least want of spirit when called upon to guard your freedom.—None but they who set a just value upon the blessings of Liberty are worthy to enjoy her—Your illustrious fathers were her zealous votaries—when the blasting frowns of tyranny drove her from public view, they clasped her in their arms, they cherished her in their generous bosoms, they brought her safe over the rough ocean, and fixed her seat in this then dreary wilderness; they nursed her infant age with the most tender care; for her sake, they patiently bore the severest hardships; for her support, they underwent the most rugged toils: In her defence, they boldly encountered the most

(1) *see index, under*

Troops, Soldiers, & Standing Armies

(2) *True, see indexes, under Term of Boston. (3) see*

American rights, pa. 1089, 1228.

(4) *see their Arrival, pa. 1070, Vol. 2, & Merits of the Mas. Bay, 557*

see indexes, under alarming

A Caveat for Gov. Hutchinson, &c. & vid. page 61,

Vol. 3. 1 pa. 60, Vol. 3. & vid. pa. 442, Vol. 3.

see index under Troops, British.

AN ORATION.

alarming dangers; neither the ravenous beasts that ranged the woods for prey; nor the more furious savages of the wilderness; could damp their ardor!—Whilst with one hand, they broke the stubborn glebe; with the other, they grasped their weapons, ever ready to protect her from danger.—No sacrifice, not even their own blood, was esteemed too rich a libation for her altar! God prospered their valour, they preserved her brilliancy unfulled, they enjoyed her whilst they lived, and dying, bequeathed the dear inheritance, to your care.* And as they left you this glorious legacy, they have undoubtedly transmitted to you, some portion of their noble spirit, to inspire you with virtue to merit her, and courage to preserve her; you surely cannot, with such examples before your eyes, as every page of the history of this country affords; * suffer your liberties to be ravished from you by lawless force, or cajoled away by flattery and fraud.)

THE voice of your Fathers blood cries to you from the ground; MY SONS, SCORN TO BE SLAVES! In vain we met the frowns of tyrants—In vain, we left our native land—In vain, we crossed the boisterous ocean, found a new world, (and prepared it for the happy residence of LIBERTY.—In vain, we toiled—In vain, we fought.—We bled in vain, if you, our offspring want valour to repel the assaults) of her invaders!——Stain not the glory of your worthy ancestors, but like them resolve, never to part with your birth-right; be wise in your deliberations,⁽¹⁾ and determined in your exertions⁽¹⁾ for the preservation of

C

your

* At simul heroum laudes, et facta parentis
Jam legere, et quæ sit poteris cognoscere virtus.

V. J. G.

See Merits of the Mas. Bay, p. 557. x See American rights, page 1089.
1228. See list of Grievances, p. 971. & see their Arrival, p. 1070, Vol. 2.
(1) see index, under Towns County, Assembly, Congress Continental, &c.
Provincial, riots, resolves, petitions, representatives, King of the Country,
Army of the United Colonies, & naval affairs.

An ORATION.

human spirit

(1) See Ame-
rican rights,
p. 1089, 1228
& See indexes
under Towns
repre-
sentatives of
assembly, Con-
gress & Contin-
ental, & Pro-
vincial, rights
abolishes peti-
tiones, ruling of
the Country
Army of the
United Colo-
nies, &
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& see list of
grievances,
p. 971
x They did
a w see
Merits of
the Mas.
p. 971

your liberties.—⁽¹⁾Follow not the dictates of passion, but enlist your-
selves under the sacred banner of reason: Use every method in your
power to secure your rights: At least prevent the curses of
posterity from being heaped upon your memories.

If you with united zeal and fortitude oppose the torrent of op-
pression; if you feel the true fire of patriotism burning in your
breasts; if you from your souls despise the most gaudy dress that
slavery can wear; if you really prefer the lonely cottage (whilst blest
with liberty) to gilded palaces surrounded with the ensigns of slavery;
you may have the fullest assurance that tyranny with her whole accursed
train will hide their hideous heads in confusion, shame and despair.
If you perform your part, you must have the strongest confidence, that
THE SAME ALMIGHTY BEING who protected your pious and
venerable fore-fathers who enabled them to turn a barren wilder-
ness into a fruitful field, who so often made bare his arm for their
salvation, will still be mindful of you their offspring.

MAY THIS ALMIGHTY BEING graciously preside in all
our councils.—May he direct us to such measures as he himself shall
approve, and be pleased to bless.—May we ever be a people favored
of GOD.—May our land be a land of Liberty, the seat of virtue;
the asylum of the oppressed, *a name and a praise in the whole earth;*
until the last shock of time shall bury the empires of the world in
one common undistinguished ruin!

F I N I S.

557.
No doubt
of our Mo-

...are pure, and if we have the same sacred regard to liberty, which
...of present, now we are independent of Great Britain we shall
...the glory of all Lands, & there will be no more hurting, or destroying
...of the ...

1085 ✓

THE

VOTES and PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FREEHOLDERS and other INHABITANTS

OF THE

Town of BOSTON,

In Town Meeting assembled,

ACCORDING TO LAW.

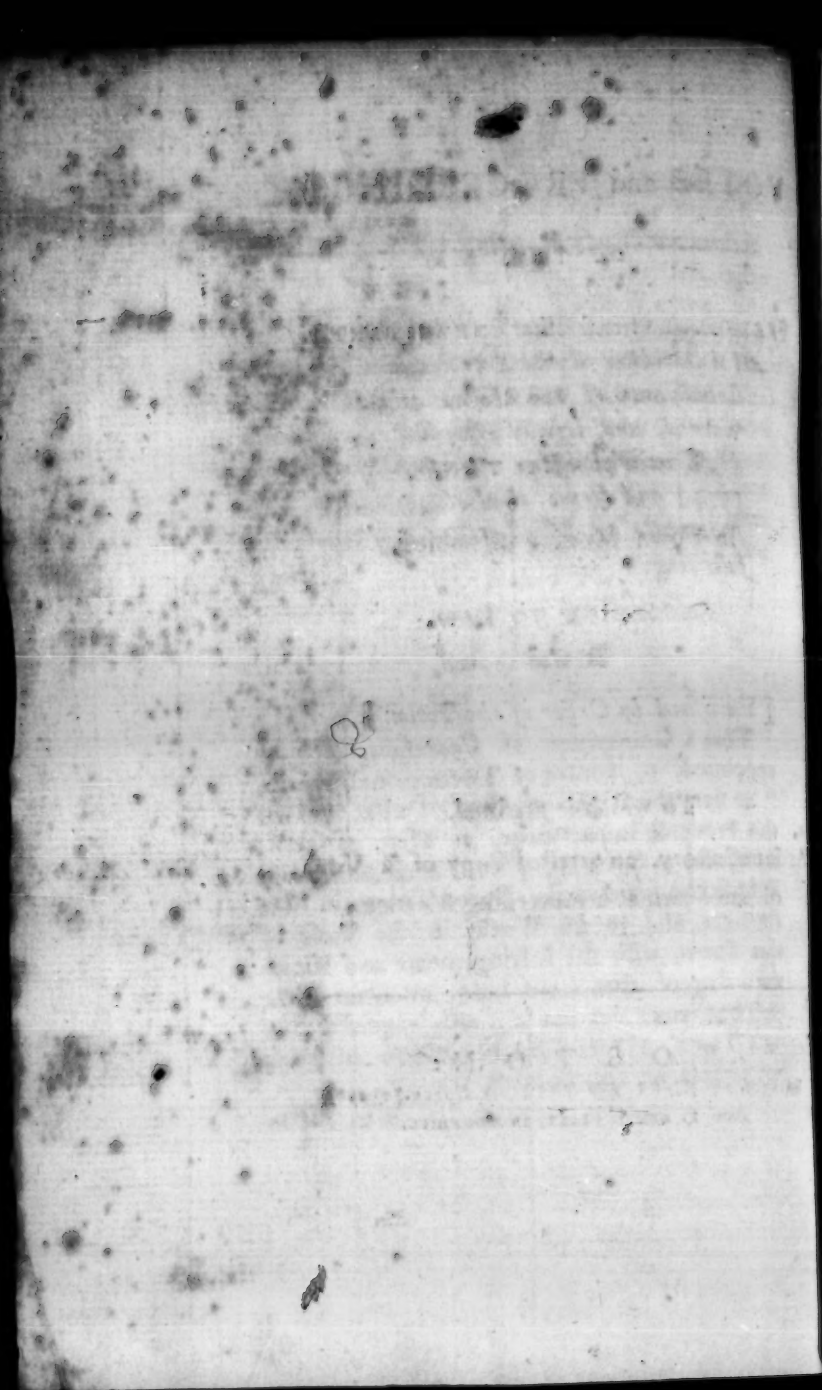
[*Published by Order of the Town.*]

To which is prefixed,

As Introductory, an attested Copy of a Vote
of the Town at a preceeding Meeting.

B O S T O N :

PRINTED BY EDES AND GILL, IN QUEEN-STREET,
AND T. AND J. FLEET, IN CORNHILL.



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At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, duly warned, and legally assembled, in Faneuil-Hall, on Wednesday the 28th of October, 1772; and from thence continued by Adjournments to Monday the 2d of November following.

It was moved,

That a Committee of Correspondence be appointed, to consist of Twenty-one Persons, "to state the Rights of the Colonists, and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects, ; to Communicate and Publish the same to the several Towns in this Province, and to the World, as the Sense of this Town, with the Infringements and Violations thereof that have been, or from Time to Time may be made; also ^a requesting of each Town a free Communication of their Sentiments on this Subject." #

Whereupon

v vid their Names pa 1087

// see pa. 1089. &c. & see list of Grievances, pa. 971.

& pa. 1100. (a) see the Letter, pa. 1117.

see pa. ¹⁰⁸⁸ 1089.

Whereupon the following Gentlemen were nominated and appointed for the Purposes aforesaid, to make Report to the Town as soon as may be, viz. The Hon. James Otis, Esq; Mr. Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, Dr. Benjamin Church, Mr. William Dennie, Mr. William Greenleaf, Joseph Greenleaf, Esq; Dr. Thomas Young, Mr. William Powell, Mr. Nathaniel Appleton, Mr. Oliver Wendell, Mr. John Sweetser, Josiah Quincy, Esq; Capt. John Bradford, Richard Boynton, Esq; Captain William Mackay, Major Nathaniel Barber, Deacon Caleb Davis, Mr. Alexander Hill, Mr. William Molineux, and Mr. Robert Pierpont. ♦

A true Copy,

Attest.

WILLIAM COOPER, Town-Clerk.

♦ The Town of Boston had the honor of Choosing such an officer first: the other Towns soon followed: — and afterward the Several American Assemblies, signified that Proceeding by adopting the same mode, vid. Index under Towns, & under Committees of, &c,

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of BOSTON, duly warned and assembled in Faneuil-Hall according to Law, on Friday the 20th of November, 1772; then and there to receive and act upon the Report of a Committee appointed at a former Meeting on the 2d of the same Month, and such other Things as might properly come under the Consideration of the Town.

The Honorable JOHN HANCOCK, Esq;

Being unanimously chosen Moderator,

The Chairman of said Committee acquainted him that he was ready to make Report, and read the same as follows.

THE Committee appointed by the Town the second Instant "to state the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects; to communicate and publish the same

B

to

vid page 177. & see pa. 1089.

* See list of 1100,
Grievances, page 97.
See p. 117.

& which report
was accepted,
see p. 1122,
1123.

to the several Towns, in this Province and to the World, as the Sense of this Town, with the Infringements and Violations thereof that have been, or from Time to Time may be made.* Also requesting of each Town a free Communication of their Sentiments on this Subject,"—beg Leave to report. &

First, A State of the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular.

Secondly, A List of the Infringements and Violations of those Rights.*

Thirdly, A Letter of Correspondence with the other Towns.

I. *Natural Rights of the Colonists as Men.*

Among the natural Rights of the Colonists are these: First, a Right to *Life*; secondly, to *Liberty*; thirdly, to *Property*; together with the Right to support and defend them in the best Manner they can. These are evident Branches of, rather than Deductions from the Duty of Self-Preservation, commonly called the first Law of Nature.

All Men have a Right to remain in a State of Nature as long as they please: And in Case of intollerable Oppression, civil or religious, to leave the Society they belong to, and enter into another.

When

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When Men enter into Society, it is by voluntary Consent ; and they have a Right to demand and insist upon the Performance of such Conditions and previous Limitations as form an equitable *original Compact*.

Every natural Right, not expressly given up, or from the Nature of a social Compact necessarily ceded, remains.

All positive and civil Laws, should conform as far as possible, to the Law of natural Reason and Equity.

As neither Reason requires, nor Religion permits the contrary, every Man living in or out of a State of civil Society, has a Right peaceably and quietly to worship God, according to the Dictates of his Conscience.

" *Just and true Liberty, equal and impartial Liberty*" in Matters spiritual and temporal, is a Thing that all Men are clearly entitled to, by the eternal and immutable Laws of God and Nature, as well as by the Law of Nations, and all well grounded municipal Laws, which must have their Foundation in the former.

In Regard to Religion, mutual Toleration in the different Professions thereof, is what all good and candid Minds in all Ages have ever practiced ; and both by Precept and Example

inculcated on Mankind: And it is now generally agreed among Christians, that this Spirit of Toleration, in the fullest Extent consistent, with the Being of Civil Society, "is the chief characteristical Mark of the true Church."* In-
 somuch that Mr. Lock has asserted, and proved beyond the Possibility of Contradiction on any solid Ground, that such Toleration ought to be extended to all whose Doctrines are not sub-
 versive of Society. The only Sects which he thinks ought to be, and which by all wise Laws are excluded from such Toleration, are those who teach Doctrines subversive of the civil Go-
 vernment under which they live. The Roman Catholicks or Papists are excluded, by Reason of such Doctrines as these, "that Princes ex-communicated may be deposed, and those they call *Hereticks* may be destroyed without Mer-
 cy; besides their recognizing the Pope in so ab-
 solute a Manner, in Subversion of Government, by introducing as far as possible into the States, under whose Protection they enjoy Life, Liberty and Property, that Solecism in Politicks, *Impe-
 rium in Imperio*†, leading directly to the worst Anarchy and Confusion, civil Discord, War and Bloodshed. ♦

The natural Liberty of Man, by entering into Society, is abridg'd or restrain'd so far only

* See Lock's Letters on Toleration.

† A Government within a Government.

♦ But in France they are grown more moderate, & liberal in their sentiments, so as that the subjects of that Kingdom, are, and may be as good subjects, as any other, in any State.

only as is necessary for the great End of Society, the best Good of the Whole.

In the State of Nature, every Man is, under God, Judge, and sole Judge, of his own Rights, and of the Injuries done him: By entering into Society, he agrees to an *Arbiter* or indifferent Judge between him and his Neighbours; but he no more renounces his original Right, than by taking a Cause out of the ordinary Course of Law, and leaving the Decision to Referees or indifferent Arbitrators. In the last Case he must pay the Referees for Time and Trouble; he should also be willing to pay his just Quota for the Support of Government, the Law and the Constitution; the End of which is to furnish indifferent and impartial Judges in all Cases that may happen, whether civil, ecclesiastical, marine or military.

"The *natural* Liberty of Man, is to be free from any superior Power on Earth, and not to be under the Will or legislative Authority of Man; but only to have the Law of Nature for his Rule."*

In the State of Nature, Men may, as the *Patriarchs* did, employ hired Servants for the Defence of their Lives, Liberties and Property; and they should pay them reasonable Wages.

Government

* Locke on Government.

190, 1050

12
claratory

& see indexes,
 under Government
 & independency
 of Officers.

Government was instituted for the Purposes of
 common Defence ; and those who hold the
 Reins of Government have an equitable natu-
 ral Right to an honorable Support from the
 same Principle " that the Labourer is worthy
 of his Hire": But then the same Community
 which they serve, ought to be the Assessors of
 their Pay : Governors have no Right to seek
 and take what they please ; by this, instead of
 being content with the Station assigned them,
 that of honorable Servants of the Society, they
 would soon become absolute *Masters, Despots*
 and *Tyrants*. & Hence as a private Man has a
 Right to say, what Wages he will give in his
 private Affairs, so has a Community to deter-
 mine what *they* will give and grant of their
 Substance, for the Administration of publick
 Affairs. And in both Cases, more are ready
 generally to offer their Service at the proposed
 and stipulated Price, than are able and willing
 to perform their Duty.

In short, it is the greatest Absurdity to sup-
 pose it in the Power of one or any Number of
 Men, at the entering into Society, to renounce
 their essential natural Rights, or the Means of
 preserving those Rights ; when the grand End of
 civil Government from the very Nature of its
 Institution, is for the Support, Protection and
 Defence of those very Rights : The principal
 of which as is before observed, are *Life, Liberty*
 and

& B.
 their
 and m

and Property. If Men through Fear, Fraud or Mistake, should in *Terms* renounce or give up any essential natural Right, the eternal Law of Reason and the grand End of Society, would absolutely vacate such Renunciation; the Right to Freedom being *the Gift of GOD ALMIGHTY*, it is not in the Power of Man to alienate this Gift, and voluntarily become a Slave.

II. *The Rights of the Colonists as Christians.*

These may be best understood by reading and carefully studying the Institutes of the great Lawgiver and Head of the Christian Church: which are to be found clearly written and promulgated in the *New Testament*.

By the Act of the British Parliament commonly called the Toleration Act, every Subject in England, except Papists, &c. was restored to, and re-established in, his natural Right to worship GOD according to the Dictates of his own Conscience. And by the Charter of this Province, it is granted, ordain'd and establish'd (that is declared as an original Right) that there shall be Liberty of Conscience allow'd in the Worship of GOD, to all Christians except Papists, inhabiting, or which shall inhabit or be resident within said Province or Territory.* Magna Charta itself is in Substance but a constrain'd

* See 1 Wm. and Mary, St. 2. C. 12. and Massachusetts Charter.

790, 1050

vid Charter pa, 1077. Vol. 2.

12

vid magna Charta page 790-1050. Vol. - claratory

strain'd Declaration, or Proclamation and Pro-
mulgation, in the Name of King, Lords and
Commons, of the Sense the latter had, of their
original, inherent, indefeazible natural Rights; †
as also those of free Citizens equally perdura-
ble with the other. That great Author, that
great Jurist, and even that Court Writer Mr.
Justice *Blackstone* holds, that this Recognition
was justly obtain'd of King John Sword in
Hand: And peradventure it must be one
Day Sword in Hand again rescued and preserv'd
from total Destruction and Oblivion. ‡

III. *The Rights of the Colonists as Subjects.*

A Commonwealth or State is a Body politick
or civil Society of Men, united together to pro-
mote their mutual Safety, and Prosperity, by
Means of their Union. †

The *absolute Rights* of Englishmen, and all
Freemen in or out of civil Society, are princi-
pally, *personal Security, personal Liberty* and
private Property. § & ¶

All Persons born in the British American
Colonies, are, by the Laws of God and Nature,
and by the common Law of England, *exclusive*
of all Charter from the Crown, well entitled,

† Lord Coke's *Infl. Blackstone's Commentaries*, V. 1. p. 122.
the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement.

‡ See *Locke and Vattel*.

✓ see *Our Charter* p. 1077 Vol. 2.

¶ *Vid Bill of Rights*, p. 1053, Vol. 2.

§ *magna Charta*, see p. 790, 1050, Vol. 2.

¶ See *petition of right*, p. 816, Vol. 2.

* See on *Common law*, p. 964, Vol. 3, 691, Vol. 4.

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and by Acts of the British Parliament are declared to be entitled, to all the natural, essential, inherent and inseparable Rights, Liberties and Privileges of Subjects born in Great-Britain, or within the Realm.* Among those Rights are the following; which no Man, or Body of Men, consistently with their own Rights as Men and Citizens, or Members of Society, can for themselves give up, or take away from others.

First, "The first fundamental positive Law of all Commonwealths or States, is the establishing the Legislative Power; As the first fundamental *natural* Law also, which is to govern even the Legislative Power itself, is the Preservation of the Society."*

Secondly, The Legislative has no Right to absolute arbitrary Power over the Lives and Fortunes of the People: Nor can Mortals assume a Prerogative, not only too high for Men, but for Angels; and therefore reserv'd for the Exercise of the *Deity* alone. &

"The Legislative cannot justly *assume* to itself a Power to rule by extempore arbitrary Decrees; but it is bound to see that Justice is dispensed, and that the Rights of the Subjects be decided, by promulgated, standing and known
C Laws,

* *Locke on Government. Salus Populi suprema Lex esto.*

* The fundamentals of which are, viz. *Magna Charta*, pa. 790, 1050, petition of right, pa. 816, *Bill of rights*, pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

o But yet the Parliament claimed that right, see *declaratory Act*, pa. 524. & see *rights*, pa. 1089, 1228.

Bill of rights, pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

Laws, and authorized independent Judges; that is, Independent as far as possible, of Prince and People. "There should be one Rule of Justice for Rich and Poor; for the Favourite at Court, and the Countryman at the Plough."

¶ See *Magna Charta*, p.a. 790, 1050, —
protection of right, p.a.
 816, — *Bill of rights*,
 p.a. 1053, Vol. 2.

¶ See on *Common Law*, p.a. 964, Vol. 3,
 & p.a. 691.

Thirdly, The Supreme Power cannot justly take from any Man, any Part of his Property without his Consent, in Person or by his Representative. *

These are some of the first Principles of natural Law and Justice, and the great Barriers of all Free States, and of the British Constitution in particular. It is utterly irreconcilable to these Principles, and to many other fundamental Maxims of the common Law, common Sense and Reason, that a British House of Commons, should have a Right, at Pleasure, to give and grant the Property of the Colonists. That these Colonists are well entitled to all the essential Rights, Liberties and Privileges of Men and Freemen, born in Britain, is manifest, not only from the Colony Charters in general, but Acts of the British Parliament. The Statute of the 13th of Geo. 2. c. 7. naturalizes even Foreigners after seven Years Residence. The Words of the Massachusetts-Charter are these, "And further our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby for Us, our Heirs and Successors, grant, establish and ordain, that all and every

* Locke.

¶ See *Our Charter* p.a. 1077, Vol. 2.

¶ See indexes, under *Judges*, &c.
 * But the British Parliament has, see *Sea Act*, p.a. 735, Vol. 1,
 & *Molasses Act*, p.a. 9, Vol. 2.

¶ See on *Common Law*, p.a. 964.

every of the Subjects of Us, our Heirs and Successors, which shall go to and inhabit within our said Province or Territory and every of their Children which shall happen to be born there, or on the Seas in going thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy, all Liberties and Immunities of free and natural Subjects within any of the Dominions of Us, our Heirs and Successors, to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes whatsoever, as if they and every of them were born within this our Realm of England." Now what Liberty can there be, where Property is taken away without Consent? Can it be said with any Colour of Truth and Justice, that this Continent of three Thousand Miles in Length, and of a Breadth as yet unexplored, in which however, it is supposed, there are five Millions of People, has the least Voice, Vote, or Influence in the Decisions of the British Parliament? Have they, all together, any more Right or Power to return a single Member to that House of Commons, who have, not inadvertently, but deliberately assumed a Power to dispose of their Lives,* Liberties and Properties, than to chuse an Emperor of China! Had the Colonists a Right to return Members to the British Parliament, it would only be hurtful; as from their local Situation.

v See Sea Act
pa. 735, Vol. 1. &
Molaynes Act, pa. 9,
Vol. 2.

* See the Act of the last Session relating to the King's Dock-Yards. pa. 176. & declaratory Act, pa. 524.

|| see page 295-404, Vol. 1, for Number of

Inhabitants - also pa. 13-227-639-978, Vol. 2 -

& pa. 161-704, Vol. 3. & pa. 15-617-1261, - see indexes

& see Magna Charta, pa. 790, 1050. - petition of right, pa. 815. - Bill of rights, pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

situation and Circumstances, it is impossible they should be ever truly and properly represented there. The Inhabitants of this Country, in all Probability, in a few Years, will be more numerous than those of Great Britain and Ireland together: Yet it is absurdly expected, by the Promoters of the present Measures, that these, with their Posterity to all Generations, should be easy, while their Property shall be disposed of by a House of Commons at Three Thousand Miles distance from them; and who cannot be supposed to have the least Care or Concern for their real Interest: Who have not only no natural Care for their Interest, but must be *in effect* bribed against it; as every Burden they lay on the Colonists is so much saved or gain'd to themselves. Hitherto many of the Colonists have been free from Quit Rents; but if the Breath of a British House of Commons, can originate an Act for taking away all our Money, our Lands will go next; or be subject to Rack Rents from haughty and relentless Landlords who will ride at ease, while we are trodden in the Dirt. The Colonists have been branded with the odious Names of Traitors and Rebels only for complaining of their Grievances: How long such Treatment will, or ought to be born, is submitted.

¶ *Uia the preceding page.* A

¶ See list of Grievances, pa. 971.

¶ See Tea Act, pa. 735, vol. 1, & Molasses Act, pa. 9, vol. 2, — & declaratory Act, pa. 524 — ¶ see indexes, under petitions, addresses, remonstrances, Representatives, Letters, &c. resolves, &c.

A List of Infringements and Violations of Rights.

WE cannot help thinking, that an Enumeration of some of the most open Infringements of our Rights, will by every candid Person be judged sufficient to justify whatever Measures have been already taken, or may be thought proper to be taken, in order to obtain a Redress of the Grievances under which we labour. Among many others, we humbly conceive, that the following will not fail to excite the Attention of all who consider themselves interested in the Happiness and Freedom of Mankind in general, and of this Continent and Province in particular.

1st. The British Parliament have assumed the Powers of Legislation for the Colonists in all Cases whatsoever, without obtaining the Consent of the Inhabitants, which is ever essentially necessary to the rightful Establishment of such a Legislative. *vid. declaratory act, pa. 792, Vol. 1.*

2dly. They have exerted that assumed Power, in raising a Revenue in the Colonies without their Consent; thereby depriving them of that Right which every Man has to keep his own Earnings

See indexes, under Towns, County, assembly, representatives, Congress Continental, & Provincial, petitions, resolves, riots, using of the Country, Army of the United Colonies, & Naval Affairs.

|| Vide a list of Grievances &c page 632, 119,

Vol. 2 — & pa 517 — 521 — 634, Vol. 3. —

& page 1214, 1219, &c. Particulars as by the molasses act, *vid* pa. 9.

Vol. 2, See act pa. 735, Vol. 1. Billington act, pa. 274, Vol. 2. x see list of rights pa. 1089, 1228.

Earnings in his own Hands until he shall, in Person, or by his Representative, think fit to part with the Whole or any Portion of it. This Infringement is the more extraordinary, when we consider the laudable Care which the British House of Commons have taken, to reserve intirely and absolutely to themselves the Powers of giving and granting Money. They not only insist on originating every Money Bill in their own House, but will not even allow the House of Lords to make an Amendment in these Bills. So tenacious are they of this Privilege, so jealous of any Infringement of the sole and absolute Right the People have to dispose of their own Money. And what renders this Infringement the more grievous is, that what of our Earnings still remains in our Hands is in a great measure deprived of it's Value, so long as the British Parliament continue to claim and exercise this Power of taxing us; for we cannot justly call that *our* Property, which *others* may, when they please take away from us against our Will. ✓

In this respect we are treated with less Decency and Regard than the Romans shewed even to the Provinces which they had conquered. They only determined upon the Sum which each should furnish, and left every Province to raise it in the Manner most easy and convenient to themselves.

3dly. A
 § see the preceding Note
 marked § — v vid. declaratory
 Act, page 792, Vol. 1.

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3dly. A Number of new Officers, unknown in the Charter of this Province, have been appointed to superintend this Revenue; whereas by our Charter, the Great and General Court or Assembly of this Province, has the sole Right of appointing all Civil Officers, excepting only such Officers, the election and constitution of whom is, in said Charter, expressly excepted; among whom these Officers are not included.

4thly. These Officers are by their Commissions invested with Powers altogether unconstitutional, and entirely destructive to that Security which we have a right to enjoy; and to the last degree dangerous, not only to our property, but to our lives: For the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs in America, or any three of them, are by their Commission impowered, "by writing under their hands and seals to constitute and appoint inferior Officers in all and singular the Port within the Limits of their Commissions." Each of these petty officers so made is intrusted with Power more absolute and arbitrary than ought to be lodged in the hands of any Man or Body of Men whatsoever; for in the Commission aforementioned, his Majesty gives and grants unto his said Commissioners, or any three of them, and to all and every the Collectors, Deputy-Collectors, Ministers, Servants, and all other Officers serving & attending in all and every the

See their
Commiss^o
pa. 253
Vol. 2.

// See the list
pa. 82, Vol. 3.

as Commissioners, and Ports

their officers, vid the Act appointing them, 11. 2.

pa. 748, Vol. 1. --- ^{See a list of 4 of officers, pa. 82, Vol. 3.} Denove Revenue on

Molasses, vid Act, pa. 9, Vol. 2. - See Act pa. 735, Vol. 1, &c. - See Charter pa. 1077, Vol. 2.

Ports & other Places within the Limits of their Commission, & full Power and Authority, from time to time, at their or any of their Wills and Pleasures, as well by Night as by Day, to enter and go on board any Ship, Boat, or other Vessel, riding, lying, or being within, or coming into, any Port, Harbour, Creek or Haven, within the limits of their Commission, and also in the day-time to go into any House, Shop, Cellar, or any other Place, where any Goods, Wares or Merchandizes lie concealed, or are suspected to lie concealed, whereof the customs and other duties, have not been, or shall not be, duly paid and truly satisfied, answered or paid unto the Collectors, Deputy-Collectors, Ministers, Servants, and other Officers respectively, or otherwise agreed for; and the said House, Shop, Warehouse, Cellar, and other Place to search and survey, and all and every the Boxes, Trunks, Chests and Packs then and there found to break open."

Thus our Houses, and even our Bed-Chambers, are exposed to be ransacked, our Boxes, Trunks and Chests broke open, raved and plundered, by Wretches/whom no prudent Man would venture to employ even as menial Servants; whenever they are pleased to say they suspect there are in the House, Wares, &c. for which the Duties have not been paid. Flagrant instances of the wanton exercise of this Power.

See Commissioners Commission
page 253, Vol 2. See a list of
Officers, p.a. 82, Vol. 3. See duty on
p.a. 735, Vol. 1. - on molasses, p.a. 9, Vol.



have frequently happened in this and other seaport Towns. By this we are cut off from that domestic security which renders the Lives of the most unhappy in some measure agreeable. These Officers may under color of Law and the cloak of a general warrant, break through the sacred Rights of the *Domicil*, ransack Mens Houses, destroy their Securities, carry off their Property, and with little Danger to themselves commit the most horrid Murders.

And we complain of it as a further Grievance, that notwithstanding by the Charter of this Province, the Governor and the Great and General Court or Assembly of this province or Territory, for the time being, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to make, ordain and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable Laws, Orders, Statutes, and Ordinances, Directions and Instructions, and that if the same shall not within the term of three years after presenting the same to his Majesty in Privy Council be disallowed, they shall be and continue in full force and effect, until the same shall be repealed by the Great and General Assembly of this province: Yet the Parliament of Great-Britain have rendered, or attempted to render, null and void, a Law of this province, made and passed in the Reign of his late Majesty George the First, intituled, "An Act stating the Fees of the Custom-House

D.

Officers

Commissioners. ^(a) See *via the Charter*,
pa. 1077, Vol. 2. & via the act, pa. 763, Vol. 2.
 (a) & their officers, see *pa. 82, Vol. 3.*

(1) See indexes,
under Standing

Army, & Soldiers, &c.

(2) See a list of rights,

pa. 1089, 1228 (3) See

Magna Charta, pa. 790,

1050, - petition of right,

pa. 816, Bill of rights, pa. 1053,

Vol. 2. *vid. Arrival*

*of Fleet &
Army, pa.*

263-297, Vol. 2,

— also Journal of

the Times, pa.

323, &c. Vol. 2,

See also, under Army,

Commissioners

&c. — Reve-

nue on molasses,

vid. pa. 9, Vol. 2

— on Tea, *vid. Act*

pa. 735, Vol. 1.

& vid. Resolves

of the Town

of Boston, pa.

241, Vol. 2.

A viz on Tea,

vid. pa. 735,

Vol. 1. — The

Tax on molasses

is applied to ano-

ther use, pa. 9, Vol. 2.

(4) See next pa. & note.

Officers within this province," and by meer dint of power, in violation of the Charter aforesaid, established other and exorbitant Fees, for the same Officers; any Law, of the province, to the contrary notwithstanding.

5thly. Fleets and Armies have been introduced to support these unconstitutional Officers in collecting and managing this unconstitutional Revenue; and Troops have been quartered in this Metropolis for that purpose. Introducing and quartering Standing Armies in a free Country in times of Peace, without the consent of the People either by themselves or by their Representatives, is, and always has been, deemed, a violation of their Rights as Freemen; and of the Charter or Compact made between the King of Great Britain and the People of this Province, whereby all the Rights of British Subjects are confirmed to us.

6thly. The Revenue arising from this Tax unconstitutionally laid, and committed to the management of Persons arbitrarily appointed and supported by an armed Force quartered in a free City, has been in part applied to the most destructive purposes. It is absolutely necessary in a mixt Government, like that of this Province, that a due proportion or balance of Power should be established among the several Branches of the Legislative. Our Ancestors

received

v. vid. Act of Parliament, pa. 186, Vol. 3. & see the Charter, pa. 1077, Vol. 2. & vid. Act appointing Commissioners, pa. 748, Vol. 1. & their Commission, pa. 253, Vol. 2. — & their Officers, pa. 82, Vol. 3.

received from King William and Queen Mary a Charter, by which it was understood by both Parties in the contract, that such a proportion or balance was fixed; and therefore every thing which renders any one Branch of the Legislative more independent of the other two than it was originally designed, is an alteration of the Constitution as settled by the Charter; and as it has been, until the establishment of this Revenue, the constant practice of the general Assembly to provide for the support of Government, so it is an essential part of our Constitution, as it is a necessary means of preserving an *Equilibrium*, without which we cannot continue a free State.

In particular it has always been held, that the dependence of the Governor of this Province upon the General Assembly for his support, was necessary for the preservation of this *Equilibrium*; nevertheless his Majesty has been pleased to apply Fifteen Hundred Pounds Sterling annually, out of the American Revenue, for the support of the Governor of this Province independent of the Assembly; whereby the ancient connection between him and this People is weakened, the Confidence in the Governor lessened, the *Equilibrium* destroyed, and the Constitution essentially altered.

And we look upon it highly probable, from the best intelligence we have been able to obtain, that not only our Governor and Lieutenant

D 2

Governor,

& *vid the Charter* pa, 1077. Vol. 2.

1 *Revenue arising from Tea, vid page 735--*

Vol. 1. *vid. pa 576, Vol. 3, & Gov. Hutchinsons Message, pa 97, and Resolves of the House, pa. 112.*

(1) See list of Gri-
vances, pa. 971.

Governor, but the Judges of the Superior Court of Judicature, as also the King's Attorney and Solicitor General are to receive their Support from this grievous tribute. This will, if accomplish'd, compleat our Slavery: For if Taxes are to be rais'd from us by the Parliament of Great Britain without our consent, and the Men on whose opinions and decisions our Properties, Liberties, and Lives, in a great measure depend, receive their Support from the Revenues arising from these Taxes, we cannot, when we think on the depravity of mankind, avoid looking with horror on the danger to which we are expos'd! The British Parliament have shewn their wisdom in making the Judges there as independent as possible both on the Prince and People, both for place and support: But our Judges hold their commissions only during pleasure; the granting them Salaries out of this Revenue is rendering them dependent on the Crown for their support. The King, upon his first accession to the Throne, for giving the last Hand to the independency of the Judges in England, not only upon himself but his successors, by recommending and consenting to an Act of Parliament, by which the Judges are continued in office, notwithstanding the demise of the King, which vacates all other Commission, was applauded by the whole Nation. How alarming therefore must it be to the inhabitants of this province, to find so wide a difference made between

◊ vid pa. 156. 1 u. Tax on
Malacca Tea, vid the Act, pa. 735,
Vol. 1. & see under Judges in
Indexes.

between the subjects in Britain and America, as the rendering the Judges here altogether dependent on the Crown for their support.

7thly. We find ourselves greatly oppressed by Instructions sent to our Governor from the Court of Great Britain; whereby the first branch of our legislature is made meerly a ministerial Engine. And the Province has already felt such effects from these instructions, as we think, justly intitle us to say, that they threaten an entire destruction of our Liberties; and must soon, if not check'd, render every branch of our government a useless burthen upon the people. We shall point out some of the alarming effects of these instructions which have already taken place.

In consequence of instructions, the Governor has called and adjourned our General Assemblies to a place highly inconvenient to the Members and greatly disadvantageous to the interest of the province, even against his own declared Intention.

In consequence of instructions, the Assembly has been prorogued from time to time, when the important concerns of the Province required their meeting.

In obedience to instructions the General Assembly was Anno 1768 dissolved by Governor Bernard, because they would not consent to rescind the Resolution of a former House, and thereby sacrifice the Rights of their Constituents.

By

see in Index under Judges.

to Find the pernicious tendency of Independent Judges. & vid. pa, 163. Vol. 2. ... vid. pa, 157. Vol. 2. & That gave rise to the Circular Letter, vid. pa, 143. Vol. 2.

vid In
Index,
Vol. 3. &
this, under
Hutchin-
son. &
Represent-
atives, to
see the
about
Instruc-
tions, re-
ferred to
here.

By an Instruction, the honorable his Majesty's Council are forbid to meet and transact matters of publick concern as a council of advice to the Governor, unless called by the Governor; and if they should from a zealous regard to the Interest of the province so meet at any time, the Governor is ordered to negative them at the next Election of Councillors. And although by the Charter of this province the Great and General Court have full power and authority to impose Taxes upon the Estates and persons of all and every the proprietors and inhabitants of this province, yet the Governor has been forbidden to give his consent to an act imposing a Tax for the necessary support of government, unless such persons as were pointed out in the said instruction, were exempted from paying their just proportion of said Tax.

1 see the
Charter,
pa. 1077
Vol. 2.
2 vid
Instruction,
pa
508 Vol. 3.

vid 9 Index
to Vol. 3,
under
Castle.
1 vid
pa. 60-
61. Vol. 3.

174
Sea Act, vid
pa. 735. vol. 1.

His Excellency has also pleaded instructions for giving up the provincial Fortress, Castle William, into the hands of Troops, over whom he had declared he had no controul (and that at a time when they were menacing the slaughter of the inhabitants of the town, and our streets were stain'd with the blood which they had barbarously shed.) Thus our Governor, appointed and paid from Great-Britain with Money forced from us, is made an instrument of totally preventing, or at least of rendering futile, every attempt of the other

(1) See index } see Gov. Barnards Letter to
es, under } Ld Hillsborough, which probably gave
Troops- } rise to this Instruction, pa. 893, &c. vol. 2.
vid pa. 576. Vol. 3. & Gov. Hutchinson's message, pa. 97. -



two branches of our Legislative in favour of a distressed and wronged people: And lest the complaints naturally occasioned by such oppression should excite compassion in the royal Breast, and induce his Majesty seriously to set about relieving us from the cruel Bondage and Insults which we, his loyal Subjects, have so long suffered, the Governor is forbidden to consent to the payment of an Agent to represent our grievances at the Court of Great Britain, unless he, the Governor, consent to his Election; and we very well know what the Man must be to whose appointment a Governor, in such circumstances, will consent. ♦

While we are mentioning the Infringements of the Rights of this Colony in particular by means of Instructions, we cannot help calling to remembrance the late unexampled Suspension of the Legislative of a Sister Colony, New-York, by force of an Instruction, until they should comply with an arbitrary act of the British Parliament, for quartering Troops, designed, by military execution, to enforce the raising of a tribute. (2)

8thly. The extending the power of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty to so enormous a degree, as deprives the people in the colonies, in a great measure, of their inestimable right to trials by

Juries;

see the two preceding pages & marginal Notes ♦ see pa. 508. Vol. 3

It was by an act, and not by Instructions, vid pa. 748. Vol. 1. (1) Billentin's act, vid pa. 274. Vol. 2. (3) vid on these Courts under admiral's Courts & Index vol. 2. & 3. & this.

(6) see indexes under Army, &c.

(5) see our rights, page 1089, 1228.

(2) Meaning chiefly Tax on molasses, vid pa. 9, Vol. 2 pa 735, Vol. 1.

(4) see list of grievances pa. 971.

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x See Magna Charta, pa. 790, 1050, Vol. 2. *Juries*: which has ever been justly considered as the grand Bulwark and Security of English property. x

Vol. 2.

See index under Admiralty Courts of

This alone is sufficient to rouse our jealousy: And we are again obliged to take notice of the remarkable contrast, which the British parliament have been pleased to exhibit between the Subjects in Great-Britain and the Colonies. In the same Statute, by which they give up to the decision of one dependent interested Judge of Admiralty the estates and properties of the Colonists, they expressly guard the estates and properties of the People of Great-Britain; For all forfeitures and penalties inflicted by the statute of the fourth of George the third, or any other Act of Parliament relative to the Trade of the Colonies, may be sued for in any Court of Admiralty in the Colonies; but all penalties and forfeitures which shall be incurred in Great-Britain, may be sued for in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record in Westminster, or in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, respectively. Thus our Birthrights are taken from us; and that too with every mark of indignity, insult and contempt. We may be harassed and dragged from one part of the Continent to the other (which some of our Brethren here and in the country towns already have been) and finally be deprived of our whole property, by the arbitrary determination of one biased, capricious Judge of the Admiralty. &

(1).
es, &
Gr

¶ *vid. Index* Vol. 2, & 3, under *Juries*, to find the great importance of having them. & *vid. Journal of the Times*, on these Trials, page 323, &c. Vol. 2, & pa. 80-83-138-

(4A)

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9thly. The restraining us from erecting Slicing-Mills for manufacturing our Iron the natural produce of this Country, is an Infringement of that Right with which God and Nature have invested us, to make use of our skill and industry in procuring the necessaries and conveniencies of Life. And we look upon the Restraint laid upon the Manufacture and Transportation of Hats to be altogether unreasonable and grievous. Although by the Charter all Havens, Rivers, Ports, Waters, &c. are expressly granted the Inhabitants of the Province and their Successors, to their only proper use and behoof forever, yet the British Parliament passed an act, whereby they restrain us from carrying our Wool, the produce of our own Farms, even over a Ferry; whereby the Inhabitants have often been put to the expence of carrying a Bag of Wool near an hundred miles by land, when passing over a River or Water of one quarter of a mile, of which the province are the absolute proprietors, would have prevented all that trouble.

10thly. The Act passed in the last Session of the British Parliament, intituled, *An Act for the better preserving his Majesty's Dock-Yards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition and Stores*, is, as we apprehend, a violent Infringement of our Rights. By this Act, any one of us may be taken from his Family, and carried to

4 vid Charter ^E pa. 1077. Vol. 2. ^{any}

11 vid page 176. x see list of rights, pa. 1089, 1228.

v see list of Grievances, pa. 971.

any part of Great-Britain, there to be tried, whenever it shall be pretended that he has been concerned in burning or otherwise destroying any Boat or Vessel, or any Materials for building, &c. any naval or victualling Store, &c. belonging to his Majesty. For by this *Act* all Persons in the Realm, or in any of the Places thereto belonging (under which Denomination we know the Colonies are meant to be included) may be indicted or tried either in any County or Shire within this Realm, in like manner and form as if the Offence had been committed in said County, as his Majesty and his Successors may deem most expedient. Thus we are not only deprived of our grand Right to *Trial by our Peers in the Vicinity*, but any person suspected, or pretended to be suspected, may be hurried to Great-Britain, to take his Trial in any County the King or his Successors shall please to direct; where, innocent or guilty, he is in great danger of being condemned; and whether condemned or acquitted, he will probably be ruined by the Expence attending the Trial, and his long Absence from his Family and Business; and we have the strongest reason to apprehend that we shall soon experience the fatal Effects of this *Act*, as about the Year 1769, the British Parliament passed 9 Resolves for taking up a number of persons in the Colonies and carrying them to Great-Britain for trial, pretending

|| vid page 176 o vid magna that

Charta, pa. 79a—105a, Vol. 2.

9 vid Resolves pa. 436—468—472, Vol. 2.

that they were authorised so to do, by a Statute passed in the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in which they say the Colonies were included, although the Act was passed long before any Colonies were settled, or even in contemplation. //

11thly. As our Ancestors came over to this Country that they might not only enjoy their civil but their religious Rights, and particularly desired to be freed from the Prelates, who in those times cruelly persecuted all who differed in sentiment from the established Church; we cannot see without concern, the various attempts which have been made, and are now making, to establish an American Episcopate. Our Episcopal brethren of the Colonies do enjoy, and rightfully ought ever to enjoy, the free exercise of their Religion; but as an American Episcopate is by no means essential to that free exercise of their Religion, we cannot help fearing that they who are so warmly contending for such an Establishment, have Views altogether inconsistent with the universal and peaceful enjoyment of our Christian privileges: And doing or attempting to do any thing which has even the remotest tendency to endanger this Enjoyment, is justly looked upon a great Grievance, and also an Infringement of our Rights; which is not barely to exercise, but peaceably and securely to enjoy, that Liberty with which CHRIST hath made us free.

E 2

And

vid the Petition, pa. 22, Vol. 2. *vid* also the

Centinel, pa. 71, &c. & *American Whig*, pa. 56, &c. Vol. 2.

— *vid* also *Index*, Vol. 1, 2, 3, & *this*, under *Bishops*. —

¶ *see* *resolves*, pa. 436, 468, 472, Vol. 2.

¶ *see* *list of rights*, pa. 1089, 1228. & *see* *list of Grievances*, pa. 971.

x See Our
Charter, pa.
1077, Vol. 2.

y See a list of
our rights, pa. 1039,
1228.

And we are further of Opinion, that no Power on Earth can justly give either temporal or spiritual Jurisdiction within this Province, except the Great & General Court. x We think therefore that every design for establishing the Jurisdiction of a Bishop in this Province, is a design both against our civil and religious Rights: And we are well informed, that the more candid & judicious of our Brethren of the Church of England in this and the other Colonies, both Clergy and Laity, conceive of the establishing an American Episcopate both unnecessary and unreasonable. ¶

12thly. Another Grievance under which we labour is, The frequent Alteration of the Bounds of the Colonies by Decisions before the King and Council, explanatory of former Grants and Charters. This not only subjects Men to live under a Constitution to which they have not consented, which in itself is a great Grievance; but moreover under Color, that the Right of Soil is affected by such Declarations, some Governors, or Ministers, or both in Conjunction, have pretended to grant in Consequence of a Mandamus many Thousands of Acres of vacant and appropriated Lands near a Century past, and rendered valuable by the Labors of the present Cultivators and their Ancestors. There are very notable Instances of Settlers, who having first purchased

¶ vid the Marginal Note in the the
Preceding page. & page 148. & pa.
535, Vol. 3. v vid, page 635. Vol. 3.
& page 109, also Gov. Bryons Procla-
mation pa. 5

the Soil of the Natives, have at considerable
 Expence obtained Confirmations of Title from
 this Province; and, on being transfer'd to the
 Jurisdiction of the Province of *New-Hampshire*,
 have been put to the Trouble and Cost of a
 new Grant or Confirmation from thence; and
 after all this, there has been a third Declaration
 of the Royal Will, that they shou'd thence-
 forth be considered as pertaining to the Pro-
 vince of *New-York*. The Troubles, Expences
 and Dangers which Hundreds have been put
 to on such Occasions, cannot here be recited;
 but so much may be said, that they have been
 most cruelly harrassed, and even threatened with
 a military Force, to dragoon them into a Com-
 pliance with the most unreasonable Demands. *Q*

*Q see the Preceding Note Marked V.
 - see also p. 478 - 482 - 490 - Vol. 1.*

A

lex,
 Comd.

6
 68
 61

harta,
 ts, p. a.



x See O.
Charter,
1077, v
See a
our right
1228.

**A LETTER of Correspondence, to the
other Towns.**

BOSTON, November 20, 1772.

GENTLEMEN,

x See our
rights, pa
1089, 1228.

WE, the Freeholders and other Inhabitants
of *Boston*, in Town-Meeting duly assem-
bled, according to Law, apprehending there is
abundant Reason to be alarmed that the Plan of
Despotism, which the Enemies of our invaluable
Rights have concerted, is rapidly hastening to
a completion, can no longer conceal our im-
patience under a constant, unremitted, uniform
Aim to enslave us, or confide in an Administra-
tion which threatens us with certain and in-
evitable destruction. But, when in Addition to
the repeated Inroads made upon the Rights and
Liberties of the Colonists, and of those in this
Province in particular, we reflect on the late
extraordinary Measure in affixing Stipends, or
Salaries from the Crown to the Offices of the
Judges

|| Vid pa, 115, 116 & pa, 107.

& vid list of Infringements from
pa, 1100 to pa, 1117, & see pa, 156—
pa, 97, 56, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Judges of the Superior Court of Judicature, making them not only intirely independent of the People, whose Lives and Fortunes are so much in their Power, but absolutely dependent on the Crown, (which may hereafter be worn by a Tyrant) both for their Appointment and Support, we cannot but be extremely alarm'd at the mischievous Tendency of this Innovation; which, in our Opinion is directly contrary to the Spirit of the British Constitution, pregnant with innumerable Evils, & hath a direct Tendency to deprive us of every thing valuable as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects, entitled, by the Royal Charter, to all the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of native Britons. (1) Such being the critical State of this Province, we think it our Duty on this truly distressing Occasion, to ask you, What can withstand the Attacks of mere Power & What can preserve the Liberties of the Subject, when the Barriers of the Constitution are taken away & The Town of Boston, consulting on the Matter abovementioned, thought proper to make Application to the Governor by a Committee; requesting his Excellency to communicate such Intelligence as he might have received, relative to the Report of the Judges having their Support independent of the Grants of this Province, a Copy of which you have herewith in Paper No. 1. To which we received as Answer the Paper No. 2. The Town

see
Charter

pa. 1077.

Vol. 2.

vid pa.

156.—

also In—

dequid.

or Judges.

vid pa.

pa. 175. 177.

see pa.

175.

(1) see mag.

pa Charter.

pa. 790, 1050.

petition of

right, pa. 816.

Bill of rights,

pa. 1053, Vol.

2.

lex,
comm.

Charter,
ts, pa.

No. I did not preserve the above Papers as I have ~~all referred to~~ ^{them} in my News Papers, as they were printed from Time to Time, which see, pa. 175. 176. & see list of Grievances, pa. 977.

x See O
Charter
1077, 2
See
our sig.
1228.

11 vid
page
176

✓ see
pa. 177.

9 vid
pa. 177.

11 vid
page
177-187.

(1) see
the
List of
Infringe
ments

1100 to pa.
117, 8 pa. 97
8 Crutts, 74 a

(2) vid from
pa. 1089,
to pa. 1094

(3) vid -
from pa.
1094 to
pa. 1095,
(4) vid from
pa. 1095
to pa. 1100.

Town on further Deliberation, thought it ad-
visable to refer the Matter to the Great and
General Assembly; and accordingly in a second
Address, as No. 3. they requested his Excel-
lency that the General Court might convene
at the Time to which they then stood pro-
rogued; to which the Town received the Reply
as in N^o 4. in which we are acquainted with
his Intentions further to prorogue the General
Assembly, which has since taken Place. Thus,
Gentlemen, it is evident his Excellency declines
giving the least Satisfaction as to the Matter in
Request. The Affair being of public Concern-
ment, the Town of Boston thought it necessary
to consult with their Brethren throughout the
Province; and for this Purpose appointed a
Committee, to communicate with our Fellow
Sufferers, respecting this recent Instance of Op-
pression, as well as the many other Violations
of our Rights under which we have groaned
for several Years past. This Committee have
briefly recapitulated the sense we have of our
invaluable Rights as Men,⁽¹⁾ as Christians,⁽²⁾ and as
Subjects⁽³⁾; and wherein we conceive those
Rights to have been violated,⁽⁴⁾ which we are
desirous may be laid before your Town, that
the Subject may be weighed as its Importance
requires; and the collected wisdom of the
whole People, as far as possible, be obtained,
on a deliberation of such great and lasting mo-
ment

¶ N^o. I did not preserve the above
papers referred to, as I have the whole
in my News Papers, as they were
Printed from Time to Time, which See, vid
pa. 176-177.

ment as to Involve in it the Fate of all our Posterity.—Great Pains has been taken to persuade the British Administration to think, that the good People of this Province in general are quiet and undisturbed at the late Measures; and that any Uneasiness that appears, arises only from a few factious designing and disaffected Men. This renders it the more necessary, that the sense of the People should be explicitly declared.—A free Communication of your Sentiments to this Town, of our common Danger, is earnestly solicited and will be gratefully received. If you concur with us in Opinion, that our Rights are properly stated, and that the several Acts of Parliament, and Measures of Administration, pointed out by us, are subversive of these Rights, you will doubtless think it of the utmost Importance that we stand firm as one Man, to recover and support them; and to take such Measures, by directing our Representatives, or otherwise, as your Wisdom and Fortitude shall dictate, to rescue from impending Ruin our happy and glorious Constitution. But if it should be the general Voice of this Province, that the Rights, as we have stated them, do not belong to us; or, that the several Measures of Administration in the British Court, are no Violations of these Rights; or, that if they are thus violated or infringed, they are not worth contending for, or resolutely maintaining; ———— should this be the general

see index,
under Towns.

vid the List of the Infringements, from
pa. 1100. to page 117. & 9 vid from page, 1089.
pa. 271. — HC & 1613, pa. 740.

to pa. 1100. x See our Charter, pa. 1077. — Magna Charta,
pa. 790, 1050. — petition of right, pa. 816. — Bill of rights, pa.
1058, Vol. 2.

x See their Ar-
rival, page, 1079
Vol. 2. — *Merits*
of the Massachusetts
Bay 557.

Voice of the Province, we must be resigned to our wretched Fate; but shall forever lament the Extinction of that generous Ardor for Civil and Religious Liberty, which in the Face of every Danger, and even Death itself, induced our Fathers, to forsake the Bosom of their Native Country, and begin a Settlement on bare Creation. — But we trust this cannot be the Case: We are sure your Wisdom, your Regard to Yourself and the rising Generation, cannot suffer you to doze, or let supinely indifferent, on the brink of Destruction, while the Iron Hand of Oppression is daily tearing the choicest Fruit from the fair Tree of Liberty, planted by our worthy Predecessors, at the Expence of their Treasure, and abundantly water'd with their Blood. — It is an observation of an eminent Patriot, that a People long inured to Hardships, loose by Degrees the very notions of Liberty; they look upon themselves, as Creatures at Mercy, and that all Impositions laid on, by Superior Hands, are legal and obligatory. — But thank Heaven this is not yet verified in America! We have yet some Share of public Virtue remaining: We are not afraid of Poverty, but disdain Slavery. — The Fate of Nations is so precarious, and Revolutions in States so often take Place at an unexpected Moment, when the Hand of Power, by Fraud or Flattery, has secured every Avenue of Retreat, and the Minds of the Sub-

|| Vid a List of our oppressions,^{just}
from pa. 1100. to pa. 1117. — Pa. 97.
I C row, pa. 740, &c.



ject debased to its Purpose, that it becomes every Well-Wisher to his Country, while it has any Remains of Freedom, to keep an Eagle Eye upon every Innovation and Stretch of Power, in those that have the Rule over us. & A recent Instance of this we have in the late Revolutions in Sweden; by which the Prince, once subject to the Laws of the State, has been able of a sudden, to declare himself an absolute Monarch. The Swedes were once a free, martial and, valiant People: Their Minds are now so debased, that they even rejoice at being subject to the Caprice and arbitrary Power of a Tyrant, and kiss their Chains. It makes us shudder to think, the late Measures of Administration may be productive of the like Catastrophe; which Heaven forbid! — Let us consider Brethren, we are struggling for our best Birth Rights and Inheritance; which being infringed, renders all our Blessings precarious in their Enjoyments, and consequently trifling in their Value. Let us disappoint the Men, who are raising themselves on the Ruin of this Country. & Let us convince every Invader of our Freedom, & that we will be as free as the Constitution our Fathers recognized, will justify.

(1) See indexes,
under Towns,
—Assemblies, &
Representatives,
—resolves, petitions,
Letters, &c.

See our rights
p. 1089, 1228; —
Our Charter
p. 1077, Vol. 2.

The foregoing Report was twice read distinctly, and amended in the Meeting. And then the Question was put, Whether the same be accepted? And passed in the Affirmative, Nem. Con.

A true Copy,
Attest.

WILLIAM COOPER, Town Clerk.

vide page, 179. — 181. & see a List of the
Oppressive Measures, from p. 1100. to Page, 1117. & p.
171. — & C. v. v. p. 740, &c.

Upon a Motion made, *Voted*, That the foregoing Proceedings be attested by the Town-Clerk, and printed in a Pamphlet; and that the Committee be desired to dispose of *Six Hundred* Copies thereof to the Selectmen of the Towns in the Province, and such other Gentlemen as they shall think fit.

Voted, That the Town-Clerk be directed to sign the foregoing Letter, and forward as many of the same to the Selectmen of each Town in this Province, as the Committee shall judge proper, and direct.

A true Copy,

Attest.

WILLIAM COOPER, Town-Clerk.

*See the answers to this Letter,
in Index, under Letters, APPENDIX.
& Towns. || see the Committee,
p. 1087.*

1124

AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED

MARCH 5th. 1773.

// See page 60, Volume 3.

NOTION

NOTION

DEPT

MARCH 20 1878

NOTION

A N
O R A T I O N,

D E L I V E R E D

M A R C H F I F T H , 1 7 7 3 .

A T T H E
R E Q U E S T O F T H E I N H A B I T A N T S
O F T H E
T O W N O F B O S T O N ;

T O
C O M M E M O R A T E t h e B L O O D Y T R A G E D Y
O F T H E
F I F T H O F M A R C H , 1 7 7 0 .

B Y
D R . B E N J A M I N C H U R C H .

*Impius hæc culta novalia miles habebit ?
Barbarus has segetes ? En quo discordia cives
perduxit miseros ? En queis consecimus agros ?*

VIRGIL. Ecl. 1.

O SOCH

*O passi gravjora, dabit Deus his quoque finem :
—revocate animos, mæstumque timorem
mittite, forsân et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*

VIRGIL. Æne. 1.

B O S T O N :

Printed and Sold at the NEW PRINTING-OFFICE,
in HANOVER-STREET near CONCERT-HALL.

M,DCC,LXXIII.

*// vid. præ, 60, Vol. 3. & see the origin of that request,
page 442, Vol. 3.*

AT a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of BOSTON duly assembled at Faneuil Hall, and held by adjournment at the Old-south Meeting-house, on Friday the fifth of MARCH, Anno Domini 1773.

UPON a motion made, VOTED unanimously that the thanks of the town be, and hereby are given to Dr. BENJAMIN CHURCH, for the *elegant and learned ORATION*, delivered by him at their request, in commemoration of the HORRID MASSACRE perpetrated on the evening of the fifth of MARCH 1770, by a party of soldiers of the 29th regiment, under the command of Captain Thomas Preston, and that

The Honorable John Hancock, Esq; the Honorable James Otis, Esq; Mr. Samuel Adams, John Scollay, Esq; Dr. Joseph Warren, Mr. William Dennie, Colonel Thomas Marshall.

Be a committee to wait upon Dr. BENJAMIN CHURCH, and to desire a copy of the ORATION for the press.

Attest, William Cooper, Town-Clerk.

GENTLEMEN!

THE approbation of my fellow-citizens, with which I have been so undeservedly distinguished, influences me without any reluctance, to submit this Oration to the public inspection, in confidence that the exemplary generosity and candour of this sensible metropolis will so far prevail as to shield this hasty production from the severity of criticism.

I am Gentlemen with due respect your most

Obedient, humble servant,

BENJAMIN CHURCH Jun.

MARCH 9th, 1773.

// vid. pra. 60. & see the appointment of the Celebration of this Anniversary, pra. 442, Vol. 3. & see Index, under Troops British.

A N

O R A T I O N.

FROM a consciousness of inability, MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, I have repeatedly declined the duties of this ANNIVERSARY. Nothing but a firm attachment to the tottering *Liberties of America*, * added to the irresistible importunity of some valued friends; could have induced me (especially with a very short notice) so far to mistake my abilities, as to render the utmost Extent of your candor truly indispensable.

When man was unconnected by social obligations; abhorrent to every idea of dependence; actuated by a savage ferocity of mind, displayed in the brutality of his manners; the necessary exigencies of each individual naturally impelled him, to acts of treachery, violence and murder.

THE

* Periculose plenum opus alee
Tractas, incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

HORACE.

¶ *vid list of Infingements, pa, 97, &c. || vid maffane pa, 60. Vol. 3.*
 & the original Appointment, pa 422, Vol. 3

AN O R A T I O N.

THE miseries of mankind thus proclaiming eternal war with their species, led them probably to consult certain measures to arrest the current of such outrageous enormities.

A SENSE of their wants and weakness in a state of nature, doubtless inclined them to such reciprocal aids and support, as eventually established society.

MEN then began to incorporate; subordination succeeded to independence; order to anarchy; and passions were disarmed by civilization: Society lent its aid to secure the weak from oppression, who wisely took shelter within the sanctuary of law.

INCREASING society afterwards exacted, that the tacit contract made with her by each individual at the time of his being incorporated, should receive a more solemn form to become authentic and irrefragable; the main object being to add force to the laws, proportionate to the power, and extent of the body corporate, whose energy they were to direct.

THEN society availed herself of the sacrifice of that liberty, and that natural equality of which we are all consci-

AN O R A T I O N.

ous : superiors and magistrates were appointed, and mankind submitted to a civil and political subordination. This is truly a glorious inspiration of reason, by whose influence, notwithstanding the inclination we have for independence, we accept controul, for the establishment of order.

ALTHOUGH, unrestrained power in one person may have been the first and most natural recourse of mankind from rapine and disorder ; yet all restrictions of power, made by laws, or participation of sovereignty, are apparent improvements upon what began in unlimited power.

It would shock humanity, should I attempt to describe those barbarous and tragic scenes, which crimson the historic page of this wretched and detestable constitution, where absolute dominion is lodged in one person : Where *one* makes the *whole*, and the *whole* is *nothing*. What motives, what events, could have been able to subdue men, endowed with reason, to render themselves the mute instruments and passive objects of the caprice of an individual ?

MANKIND apprized of their privileges, in being rational and free ; in prescribing civil laws to themselves, had surely no intention of being enchained by any of their equals ;
and

AN ORATION.

and although they submitted voluntary adherents to certain laws for the sake of mutual security and happiness; they no doubt intended by the original compact, a permanent exemption of the subject body, from any claims, which were not expressly surrendered, for the purpose of obtaining the security and defence of the whole: Can it possibly be conceived that they would voluntarily be enslaved, by a power of their own creation?

THE constitution of a *magistrate*, does not therefore take away that lawful defence against force and injury, allowed by the law of nature; we are not to obey a Prince, ruling above the limits of the power entrusted to him; for the *Common-wealth* by constituting a head, does not deprive itself of the power of its own preservation. * *Government*, or *Magistracy* whether supreme or subordinate is a mere *human ordinance*, and the laws of every nation are the measure of magistratical power: And Kings, the servants of the state, when they degenerate into tyrants, forfeit their right to government.

A BREACH of trust in a governor, * or attempting to enlarge a limited power; effectually absolves subjects from every bond of covenant and peace; the crimes acted by a King

* The celebrated Mrs. Maccauley.

* Ibid.

AMORATION.

King against the people, are the highest treason against the highest law among men. *

If the King (*says Grotius*) hath one part of the supreme power, and the other part is in the senate or people, when such a King shall invade that part which doth not belong to him, it shall be lawful to oppose a just force to him, because his power doth not extend so far. *

THE question in short turns upon this single point, respecting the power of the civil magistrate: Is it the end of that office, that one particular person may do what he will without restraint? or rather that society should be made happy and secure? the answer is very obvious ---- And it is my firm opinion that the equal Justice of God, and natural freedom of mankind must stand or fall together.

WHEN rulers become tyrants, they cease to be Kings; they can no longer be respected as God's vicegerents, who violate the laws they were sworn to protect: The preacher may tell us of *passive obedience*, that tyrants are scourges in the hands of a righteous God to chastise a sinful nation, and are to be submitted to like plagues, famine and such like

B. judge.

* *Salus populi suprema lex esto.*

AN O R A T I O N.

judgments : such doctrine may serve to mislead ill-judging Princes into a false security ; but men are not to be harrangued out of their senses ; human nature and self preservation will eternally arm the brave and vigilant, against slavery and oppression.

As a despotic government * is evidently productive of the most shocking calamities, whatever tends to restrain such inordinate power, though in itself a severe evil, is extremely beneficial to society ; for where a degrading servitude is the detestable alternative, who can shudder at the reluctant ponyard of a Brutus, the crimsoned ax of a Cromwell, or the reeking dagger of a Ravilliac ?

To enjoy life as becomes rational creatures, to possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction we must be careful to maintain that inestimable blessing, LIBERTY. By liberty I would be understood, the happiness of living under laws of

our

* The ingratitude and corruption of Rome, is perhaps in no instance more strongly marked than in her treatment of her colonies, by their labours, toils, and arms she had reached to that summit of glorious exaltation as to be like BRITAIN the wonder and dread of the world ; but by fatal experience these ruined colonies, inculcate this serious lesson, the ambition of a DESPOT is boundless, his rapine is insatiable, the accomplishment of his conquests over his enemies, is but the introduction of slavery, with her concomitant plagues, to his friends.

who slew Julius Cæsar. & who assisted in bringing Charles I. to the block. & who stabilizing Henry of France.

AN ORATION.

our own making, by our personal consent or that of our representatives. *

WITHOUT this, the distinctions among mankind, are but different degrees of misery ; for as the true estimate of a man's life consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations, his being is degraded below that of a free agent, which heaven has made him, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind, and the interests of human society, but by the arbitrary, unrestrained will of another.

I THANK GOD we live in an age of rational inquiry, when the unfettered mind dares to expatiate freely on every object worthy its attention, when the privileges of mankind are thoroughly comprehended, and the rights of distinct societies are objects of liberal enquiry. The rod of the tyrant no longer excites our apprehensions, and to the frown of the DESPOT which made

* The very idea of a representative, deputy or trustee includes that of a constituent, whose interest they are ordained and appointed to promote and secure ; my unappointed self-constituted agent in the british parliament, has fraudulently and arbitrarily surrendered my best interest without my privity or consent ; I do therefore hereby protest against all such powers as he shall claim in my behalf, and most solemnly discard him my service forever. See Lock civil government. *Kisum teneatis amici !*

AN ORATION.

of the Pillars
of the British
Constitution are
in, Magna Char-

ter, pa. 790, 1050.

Petition of right,

pa. 816, Bill

of rights, pa. 1053,

Vol. 2.

x See indexes

under Towns, Count

ys, Assembly, Repre

sentatives, riots,

resolves, Congress

Continental, &

Provincial, raising

of the Country,

Army of the

United Colonies,

& Naval Affairs.

(1) See Graves, p. 2.

7th, &c.

(2) See American

rights, pa. 1089, 1228

(3) True! See

index, under

Congress Conti-

nenal.

made the darker ages tremble, we dare oppose de-
mands of right; and appeal to that constitution, which holds
even Kings in fetters.

It is easy to project the subversion of a people, when
men behold them, the ignorant or indolent victims of
power; but it is extremely difficult to effect their ruin,
when they are apprized of their just claims, and are
sensibly and seasonably affected with thoughts for their
preservation. God be thanked, the alarm is gone forth,
the people are universally informed of their CHARTER
RIGHTS; they esteem them to be the ark of God to
NEW-ENGLAND, and like that of old, may it deal de-
struction to the profane hand, that shall dare to touch it.

In
Caelum, non animam mutant, qui trans mare currunt. The citizens
of Rome, Sparta or Lacedæmon, at those blessed periods when they
were most eminent for their attachment to liberty and virtue, could
never exhibit brighter examples of patriotic zeal than are to be
found at this day in America, I will not presume to say that the origi-
nal british spirit has improved by transplanting; but this I dare
affirm, that should Britains stoop to oppression, the struggles of their
American brethren will be their eternal reproach.

The instituting a Committee of grievances and correspondence, by the town
of Boston, has served this very valuable purpose: The general infrac-
tion of the rights of all the colonies, must finally reduce the discord-
ant provinces, to a necessary combination for their mutual interest and
defence: Some future congress will be the glorious source of the
salvation of America: The Ambassadors of Greece, who formed the
diet or great council of the states; exhibit an excellent model for
the rising Americans. (S)

✓ vid page 1086, 1087, & vid list of Infringements,
pa. 97, &c. & vid Our Charter pa. 1077, Vol. 2.

AN ORATION.

IN every state or society of men, personal liberty and security must depend upon the collective power of the whole, acting for the general interest. * If this collective power is not of the whole, the freedom and interest of the whole is not secured : If this confluent power acts by a partial delegation, or for a partial interest ; it's operation is surely determinable, where it's delegation ends.

THE constitution^x of England, I revere to a degree of idolatry ; but my attachment is to the common weal : The magistrate will ever command my respect, by the integrity and wisdom of his administrations,

JUNIUS^y well observes ; when the constitution^x is openly invaded, when the first original right of the people from which all laws derive their authority is directly attacked ; inferior grievances naturally lose their force, and are suffered to pass by without punishment or observation.

VA

NUM

* Lord chief Justice, Coke observes " when any new device is moved in the King's behalf, for aid or the like ; the commons may answer, they dare not agree without conference with their counties." The novel device of fleecing the colonies, was introduced in a way the constitution knows not of, and crammed down their throats by measures equally iniquitous.

I will not alarm the sticklers for the present measures, by confronting them with more stale authorities ; if they will permit me the following short but express declaration of Sidney, which they may chew at leisure. NO MAN CAN GIVE THAT WHICH IS ANOTHER'S.

¶ *vid Junius Letters, under Junius, Index Vol, 2, 3. & this -*

x. *see The Marginal Note at the top of the side in the preceding page.*

y. *see tax on Tea, pa. 735, Vol. 1. — on Molasses, pa. 9, Vol. 2.*

z. *see Charter, pa. 1077, Vol. 2. // see list of Grievances, pa. 371.*

z. *see*
Pitt's speech,
pa. 403, Vol. 1.
— G. andons,
pa. 10, Vol. 2.

AN O R A T I O N.

NUMBERLESS have been the attacks made upon our free constitution, numberless the grievances we now resent: But the *Hydra* mischief, is the violation of my right, as a BRITISH AMERICAN freeholder; in not being consulted in framing those statutes I am required to obey.

THE authority of the BRITISH monarch over this colony was established, and his power derived from the provincial CHARTER; by that we are entitled to a distinct legislation. As in every government there must exist a power superior to the laws, viz. the power that makes those laws, and from which they derive their authority: * therefore the liberty of the people is exactly proportioned to the share the body of the people have in the legislature; and the check placed in the constitution on the executive power. That state only is free, where the people are governed by laws which they have a share in making; and that country is totally enslaved, where one single law can be made or repealed, without the interposition or consent of the people. *See Address to the King, pa, 51, Vol, 2.*

AN

* Nothing, continued: the Corporal, can be so sweet,
 And please your honor, as liberty;
 Nothing *Trim*—said my uncle Toby, musing—
 Whil'st a man is free—cried the Corporal, giving a flourish with his stick thus.
 TRISTRAM SHANDY.

*vid list of Infringements, page 97, & vid
 Charter pa, 1077, Vol, 2. & see declaratory act, pa. 524.*

AN ORATION.

THAT the members of the British Parliament are representatives of the whole British Empire, expressly militates with their avowed principles: Property and residence within the Island, alone constituting the right of election; and surely he is not my delegate in whose nomination or appointment I have no choice: But however the futile and absurd claim of a virtual representation, may comport with the Idea of a political visionary; he must (if possible) heighten the indignation, or excite the ridicule of a free born American, who by such a fallacious pretext would despoil him of his property.

*The Dr
supposes,
that all the
Dominions
of King
George,
constitute
the British
Empire.*

AN American freeholder according to the just and judicious conduct of the present ministry, has no possible right to be consulted, in the disposal of his property: When a lordly, though unlettered British Elector, possessed of a turnip garden; with great propriety may appoint a legislator, to assess the ample domains, of the most sensible opulent American planter.

BUT remember my Brethren! When a people have once sold their liberties, it is no act of extraordinary generosity, to throw their lives and properties into the bargain, for they are poor indeed when enjoyed at the mercy of a master.

See list of Infringements, p. 97, &c.

THE

AN OIRTAIRIO NA

THE late conduct of Great-Britain so inconsistent with the practice of former times, so subversive of the first principles of government, is sufficient to excite the discontent of the subject: The Americans justly and decently urged, an exclusive right of taxing themselves; was it indulgent conciliating or parental conduct in that state, to exaggerate such a claim, as a concerted plan of rebellion in the wanton Americans? And by a rigorous and cruel exercise of power to enforce submission, excite such animosities, as at some future period may produce a bitter repentance. (1)

See also
of the
Landing
Troops, &
Arrival of
a Fleet.
pa. 263

177, Vol. 2, & Index, under Troops, & Men of War

See also
vid pa.

735, Vol. 1^(a)

(1) True! They
lost the Colo-
nies by it, see
declaration of
independancy,
pa. 97

See also
Charter, pa.
1077, Vol. 2.

(a) & molasses
Act, pa. 9, Vol. 2.
& we dit, see
index, under
Army of the
United Colonies
& naval affairs.

CAN such be called a legal tax or free gift? It is rather levying contributions on grudging enslaved Americans by virtue of an act framed and enforced, not only without, but against their consent; thereby rendering the provincial assemblies a useless part of the constitution.

WHERE laws are framed and assessments laid without a legal representation, and obedience to such acts urged by force, the despairing people robbed of every constitutional means of redress, and that people brave and virtuous; must become the admiration of ages, should they not appeal to those powers, which the immutable laws of nature have lent to all mankind. Fear is a slender tie of

See List of Infringements, pa. 971, & sub-
vid under Resolves, Index Vol. 1, 2, 3, & this. &
Petitions, remonstrances, & Letters.

AN O R A T I O N.

subjection, we detest those whom we fear, and wish destruction to those we detest; but humanity, uprightness and good faith, with an apparent watchfulness for the welfare of the people, constitute the permanency, and are the firmest support of the sovereign's authority; for when violence is opposed to reason and justice, ⁽¹⁾ courage never wants an arm for its defence.

WHAT dignity, what respect, what authority, can Britain derive from her obstinate adherence to error? She stands convicted of violating her own principles, but perseveres with unrelenting severity; we implore for rights as a grace, she aggravates our distress, by lopping away another and another darling privilege; we ask for freedom and she lends the sword? ⁽²⁾

To the wisdom, to the justice, to the piety of his most sacred Majesty, ⁽³⁾ I unite in my appeal with this unbounded Empire; God grant he may attend to the reiterated prayer, instead of the murmurs of discontent, and the frowns of lowering disaffection, we would universally hail him with those effusions of genuine joy and dutious veneration, which the proudest DESPOT will vainly look for, from forced respect or ceremonial homage.

PARTIES and factions since the days of the detested Austro, have been strangers to this land; no distinctions

¶ *vid* for Petitions in Index Vol. 1, 2, 3, under Petitions
 & *vid* list of Infingements, pa. 971. & *vid* account
 of landing Troops, &c, pa. 263-297, Vol. 2. & Index, under Troops
 British, & men of War.

See Index
 under, resolves,
 remonstrances,
 Letters, petiti-
 ons, &c.

(1) True! See
 index, under
 Army of the
 United Colo-
 nies, & Naval
 Affairs.

(2) He has
 neither Wisdom,
 or justice, there-
 fore no Piety, -
 see Corrus, pa.
 740, &c.

(3) He would
 not, & therefore
 lost the Colonies;
 see declaration
 of independence,
 pa. 971.

1st Edmund
 Gos. r. of New
 England.

9 see list
of Grievances,
pa. 97.

AN O R A T I O N.

9 See, *index* of heart felt animosity disturbed the peace and order of
a, *under Town* society till the malignant folly of a * late rancorous commander
County, *ap- in* chief conjured them from the dead: When shall this
embly, *representatives, Gen* unhappy clime be purged of its numerous plagues? When
will our troubles, our feuds our struggles cease? When
will the locusts leave the land? Then; and not till then,
peace and plenty shall smile around us; the husbandman
will labour with pleasure; and honest industry reap the
reward of it's toil.

Provincial, *riots, resolves, vining of the*
Country. *Ar my of the United Colonies, & Naval Affairs.*
But let us not forget the distressing occasion of this anniversary: The sullen ghosts of murdered fellow-citizens, haunt my imagination "and harrow up my soul," methinks the tainted air is hung with the dews of death, while "Ate" hot from hell cries havock, and lets slip:

(1), *habaspear* "the dogs of war." Hark! The wan tenants of the grave still shriek for vengeance on their remorseless butchers: Forgive us heaven! Should we mingle involuntary execrations, while hovering in idea over the guiltless dead: Where is the amiable, the graceful Maverick? the opening blossom is now withered in his cheek, the sprightly fire that once lightened in his eye is quenched in death; † the savage hands of brutal ruffians, have crushed the unsuspecting victim, and in an evil hour snatched away his gentle soul.

WHERE

* The Nettlesham Barronet: †

† *He ubi barbarus hostis, Ovin de Pontes:*
sera plus valant legibus arma facit.

9 Governor Bernard & Commissioners & their
see *index, under d.*
Inbe & see account of the massacre pa.
60. Vol. 3. (a) see pa. 82. Vol. 3.

AN O R A T I O N.

WHERE is the friendly, the industrious *Caldwell*? he paced
 innocuous through the theatre of death, unconscious of design
 or danger; when the winged fate gored his bosom,
 and stript his startled soul for the world of spirits.
 Where are the residue of *active* citizens that were wont
 to tread these sacred floors? Fallen by the hands of the
 vindictive assassins, they swell the horrors of the san-
 guinary scene. Loyalty stands on tiptoe at the shock-
 ing recollection, while justice, virtue, honor, patriotism
 become suppliants for immoderate vengeance: The
 whole soul clamours for arms, and is on fire to at-
 tack the brutal *banditti*, we fly agonizing to the hor-
 rid *aceldama*, we gaze on the mangled corpses of our
brethren, and grinning *furies* glotting over their carnage;
 the hostile attitude of the miscreant *murderers*, redou-
 bles our resentment, and makes revenge a virtue.

BY heaven they die! Thus nature spoke, and the swollen
 heart leap'd to execute the dreadful purpose; dire
 was the interval of rage; fierce was the conflict of
 the soul. In that important hour, did not the stalking
 ghosts of our stern fore-father's, point us to bloody deeds
 of vengeance? did not the consideration of our
 expiring LIBERTIES, impel us to remorseless havoc? But
 bark!! The guardian God of New-England issues his
 awful mandate: "PEACE, BE STILL," hush'd was the
 bustling war, the louring tempest frowned its rage

// Old Account of the Massacre pa, 60, vol. 3 away.

// See List of Grievances, pa. 971.

AN O R A T I O N.

away. Confidence in that God, beneath whose wing
we shelter all our cares, that blessed confidence released
the dastard the cowering prey // : With haughty scorn
we refused to become their executioners, and nobly gave
them to the wrath of heaven // : But words can poorly
paint the horrid // scene -- * Defenceless, prostrate, bleed-
ing countrymen // - the piercing, agonizing groans // - the
mingled moan of weeping relatives and friends // : - -
These best can speak ; to rouse the luke-warm into
noble zeal, to fire the zealous into manly rage ; against
the foul oppression, of quartering ^Vtroops, in populous cities, in
times of peace.

Thou who yon bloody // walk shalt traverse, there
Where troops ^Vof Britain's King, on Britain's Sons,
Discharg'd the leaden // vengeance ; pass not on
E'er thou hast blest their memory, and paid
Those hallowed tears, which sooth the virtuous dead // :
O stranger ! Stay thee, and the scene // around
Contemplate well, and if perchance thy home,
Salute thee with a father's honor'd name,
Go call thy Sons --- instruct them what a debt
They owe their ancestors, and make them swear
To pay it, by transmitting down entire
Those sacred rights (to which themselves were born. ✕

✕ What pity,

such a noble genius
should prove so
rank a Traitor!

See Index, un-
der Church, D.

* *Montague subentia corde*
Labores sua mercede, nulli sunt profuturi. *Lat. ex. lib. 2.*

Vide Account of the Massacre p. 60, Vol. 3.

Vide account of the Arrival of Troops &c.

page. 263—297, Vol. 2, — & Indexes, under Standing Ar-
my & Troops. — & Army to retake, & see list of ships, p. 12, 13, 123

1144

Letters, &c.

Boston, 18th June, 1768.

SIR,

//

AS you allow me the honour of your correspondence, I may not omit acquainting you with so remarkable an event as the withdraw of the commissioners of the customs and most of the other officers under them from the town on board the Romney, with an intent to remove from thence to the castle.

In the evening of the 10th a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, a representative for Boston, and a wealthy merchant, of great influence over the populace, was seized by the collector and comptroller for a very notorious breach of the laws of trade, and, after seizure taken into custody by the officer of the Romney man of war, and remov'd under command of her guns. It pretended that the removal and not the seizure

B

increased

See
Resolves of
the House
of Representatives,
on the
Following
Letters of
Gov. Hutchinson,
pa. 309,
& of the
Council
pa. 313, 314.

See indexes
under mon of
1768.

vid page 141, Vol. 2. // see a particular
account page 141, 146, Vol. 2. & see the list, pa. 82,
Vol. 3. & on Acts of Trade, pa. 65, 66, 1228.

1745

[6]

see
Govern.
Barnard,
Letters on
this Riot,
pa. 850-852
Vol. 2.

(1) see Bar-
nards Letter
page, 851. to
854, Vol. 2.

see in-
dex, under
Men of war.

(2) vid. pa.
141, 142. Vol. 2.

(3) vid. pa.
142, Vol. 2.

(4) See the list
of the Board
pa. 82, Vol. 2.

incensed the people. It seems not very ma-
terial which it was.—A mob was immediately
rais'd, the officers insulted, bruise'd and much
hurt, and the windows of some of their houses
broke; a boat belonging to the collector burnt
in triumph, and many threats utter'd against the
commissioners and their officers: no notice being
taken of their extravagance in the time of it,
nor any endeavours by any authority except the
governor, the next day to discover and punish
the offenders; and there being a rumour of a
higher mob intended monday (the 13th) in the
evening the commissioners, *four of them*, thought
themselves altogether unsafe, being destitute of
protection, and remov'd with their families to the
Romney, and there remain and hold their board,
and next week intend to do the same, and also
open the custom-house at the castle. The go-
vernor press'd the council to assist him with their
advice, but they declin'd and evaded calling it
a brush or small disturbance by boys and negroes,
not considering *how much it must be resented in
England* that the officers of the crown should
think themselves obliged to quit the place of
their residence and go on board a King's ship for
safety, and all the internal authority of the pro-
vince take no notice of it.—The town of Boston
have had repeated meetings, and by their votes
declared the commissioners and their officers a
great grievance, and yesterday instructed their
representatives to endeavor that enquiry should
be made by the assembly whether any person
by writing or in any other way had encouraged
the sending troops here, there being some alarm-
ing reports that troops are expected, but have
not

9 vid. pa. 141, 146, Vol. 2. 9 vid
page 141, &c Vol. 2. x Not M^r
Temple.

1146

[●]

not taken any measures to discountenance the promoters of the late proceedings; but on the contrary appointed one or more of the actors or abettors on a committee appointed to wait on the governor, and to desire him to order the man of war out of the harbour. ◇

Ignorant as they be, yet the heads of a Boston town-meeting influence all publick measures.

It is not possible this anarchy should last always. Mr. Hallowell who will be the bearer of this tells me he has the honour of being personally known to you. I beg leave to refer you to him for a more full account.

I am, with great esteem,

Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,
THO. HUTCHINSON.

Boston, August 1768.

S I R,

IT is very necessary other information should be had in England of the present state of the commissioners of the customs than what common fame will bring to you or what you will receive from most of the letters which go from hence, people in general being prejudiced by many false reports and misrepresentations concerning them. Seven eighths of the people of the country suppose the board itself to be unconstitutional and cannot be undeceived and brought to believe that a board has existed in England all this century, and that the board established here has no

+ So it is, they are not appointed by the Charter, vid their Commission, pa. 253. Vol. 2. & our

(1) see list of the Commissioners, & their officers, pa. 82, Vol. 3

See a particular account

of this riot

pa. 141-146

Vol. 2. - This

is an account

of Facts,

but is greatly

exaggerated.

Avid Barnards Letter

pa. 856, Vol. 2.

✓ Cruel

that he

must refer

to Mr Hallowell for

intelligence,

who was a

known ene

my to ye

People!

✓ The Parlia-

ment had no
right to appoint

[●]

such a Board
it is not known
by the Charters

See their
Commission

pa. 253.

Vol. 2. vid

act appoin-
ting them.

page 748.

Vol. 1. & pa. 82
Vol. 3.

See their
Character

drawn,

page. 304.

Vol. 2.

See when
they with-

drew page

151. vol. 2

(1) vid. pa. 167.

& 874. Vol. 2.

Vol. 2. [4] vid page 99.

Vol. 2. A see the Message, pa. 142.

Vol. 2. (6) vid

new powers given to it. Our incendiaries know it but they industriously and very wickedly publish the contrary. As much pains has been taken to prejudice the country against the persons of the commissioners and their characters have been misrepresented and cruelly treated especially since their confinement at the castle where they are not so likely to hear what is said of them and are not so able to confute it.

It is now pretended they need not to have withdrawn, that Mr. Williams had stood his ground without any injury although the mob beset his house, &c. (1) There never was that spirit raised against the under officers as against the commissioners, I mean four of them. (2) They had a public affront offered them by the town of Boston who refused to give the use of their hall for a public dinner unless it was stipulated that the commissioners should not be invited. (3) An affront of the same nature at the motion of Mr. Hancock was offered by a company of Academics. Soon after a vessel of Mr. Hancock's being seized the officers were mobb'd and the commissioners were informed they were threatned. (4) I own I was in pain for them. I do not believe if the mob had seized them, there was any authority able and willing to have rescued them. After they had withdrawn the town signified to the governor by a message that it was expected or desired they should not return. It was then the general voice that it would not be safe for them to return. After all this the sons of liberty say they deserted or abdicated. (5)

The other officers of the customs in general either did not leave the town or soon returned to it. (1) not Mr. Temple. (3) see pa. 100. (4) Vol. 2. [4] vid page 99. Vol. 2. (5) vid pa. 141. 142. Vol. 2. A see the Message, pa. 142. Vol. 2. (6) vid

it. Some of them seem to be discontented with the commissioners. Great pains have been taken to increase the discontent. Their office by these means is rendered extremely burdensome. Every thing they do is found fault with, and yet no particular illegality or even irregularity mentioned. There is too much hauteur some of their officers say in the treatment they receive. They say they treat their officers as the commissioners treat their officers in England and require no greater deference. After all it is not the persons but the office of the commissioners which has raised this spirit, and the distinction made between the commissioners is because it has been given out that four of them were in favor of the new establishment, and the fifth was not. If Mr. Hallowell arrived safe he can inform you many circumstances relative to this distinction which I very willingly excuse myself from mentioning.

I know of no burden brought upon the fair trader by the new establishment. The illicit trader finds the risk greater than it used to be, especially in the port where the board is constantly held. Another circumstance which increases the prejudice is this; the new duties happened to take place just about the time the commissioners arrived. People have absurdly connected the duties and board of commissioners, and suppose we should have had no additional duties if there had been no Board to have the charge of collecting them. With all the aid you can give to the officers of the crown they will have enough to do to maintain the authority of government and to carry the laws into execution.

* See in art.
doses, un-
der Com-
missioners

(6) See
wh. of their
officers, pa.
82, vol. 3

✓ See See
act, pa.
735, vol. 1

a Grain
tot!

See Act appointing them pa. 148, vol. 1, vid also
their Commission, pa. 253, vol. 2. 11th Jan. Temple.
(a) vid their arrival, pa. 756, vol. 1.

If they are discountenanced, neglected or fail of support from you, they must submit to every thing the present opposers of government think fit to require of them.

There is no office under greater discouragements than that of the commissioners. Some of my friends recommended me to the ministry. I think myself very happy that I am not one. Indeed it would have been incompatible with my post as chief justice, and I must have declined it, and I should do it although no greater salary had been affixed to the chief justices place than the small pittance allowed by the province.

From my acquaintance with the Commissioners I have conceived a personal esteem for them, but my chief inducement to make this representation to you is a regard to the public interest which I am sure will suffer if the opposition carry their point against them.

I am with very great esteem,
Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
THO. HUTCHINSON.

August 10. Yesterday at a meeting of the merchants it was agreed by all present to give no more orders for goods from England, nor receive any on commission until the late acts are repealed. And it is said all except sixteen in the town have subscribed an engagement of that tenor. I hope the subscription will be printed that I may transmit it to you.

*A fee pa, 149, Vol. 2. 2 As Molester
act, vid pa. 9. Vol. 2. Tea act, pa.
735, Vol. 1. & vid page 755, Vol. 2.*

*by # fee
se act app
counting
them, pa
748, Vol. 1
& their
Commisso
page 253
Vol. 2,
& pa. 82, Vol. 3
fee
about
it, page
452*

*156, & what
the Province
grants, pa.
223, 246.*

1150

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Boston, 4th October 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS absent upon one of our circuits when Mr. Byles arrived. Since my return I have received from him your obliging letter of 31st July. I never dared to think what the resentment of the nation would be upon Hallowell's arrival. It is not strange that measures should be immediately taken to reduce the colonies to their former state of government and order, but that the national funds should be effected by it is to me a little mysterious and surprizing. Principles of government absurd enough, spread thro' all the colonies; but I cannot think that in any colony, people of any consideration have ever been so mad as to think of a revolt. Many of the common people have been in a frenzy, and talk'd of dying in defence of their liberties, and have spoke and printed what is highly criminal, and too many of rank above the vulgar, and some in public posts have countenanced and encouraged them until they increased so much in their numbers and in their opinion of their importance as to submit to government no further than they thought proper. The legislative powers have been influenced by them, and the executive powers intirely lost their force. There has been continual danger of mobs and insurrections, but they would have spent all their force within ourselves, the officers of the Crown and some of the few friends who dared to stand by them possibly might have been knock'd in the head, and some such fatal event would probably have brought

An Untruth!

Bar.

Let

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The went home

with the

account

of ye riot

page 141

146, Vol. 2

see list

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971, be

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brought the people to their senses. For, four or five weeks past the distemper has been growing, and I confess I have not been without some apprehensions for myself, but my friends have had more for me, and I have had repeated and frequent notices from them from different quarters, one of the last I will enclose to you. In this state of things there was no security but quitting my posts, which nothing but the last extremity would justify. As chief justice for two years after our first disorders I kept the grand juries tollerably well to their duty. The last spring there had been several riots, and a most infamous libel had been published in one of the papers, which I enlarged upon, and the grand jury had determined to make presentments, but the attorney-general not attending them the first day, Otis and his creatures who were alarmed and frightened, exerted themselves the next day and prevailed upon so many of the jury to change their voices, that there was not a sufficient number left to find a bill. They have been ever since more enraged against me than ever. At the desire of the governor I committed to writing the charge while it lay in my memory, and as I have no further use for it I will inclose it as it may give you some idea of our judicatories.

Whilst we were in this state, news came of two regiments being ordered from Halifax, and soon after two more from Ireland. The minds of people were more and more agitated, broad hints were given that the troops should never land, a barrel of tar was placed upon the beacon, in the night to be fired to bring in the country when the troops

See the following Letter, pa, 1154.

A Lie! vid Barnard's Letter pa, 888
Vol. 2, & Transactions of the Council pa, 313
& nulls declaration, page 328, & Barnard's pa, 3

Prefer
ring to
Stamp

act Times

vid. Index

vol. 1, under

S. 1 a

Falshood

x vid

page 38.

of Gov.

Barnard's

Letter pa

838-849

Vol. 2.

See pa

241. &c.

Vol. 2.

troops appeared, and all the authority of the government was not strong enough to remove it. The town of Boston met and passed a number of weak but very criminal votes; and as the governor declined calling an assembly they sent circular letters to all the towns and districts to send a person each that there might be a general consultation at so extraordinary a crisis. They met and spent a week, made themselves ridiculous, and then dissolv'd themselves, after a message or two to the governor which he refused to receive; a petition to the King which I dare say *their agent* will never be allow'd to present, and a result which they have published ill-natured and impotent.

In this confusion the troops from Halifax arrived. I never was much afraid of the people's taking arms, but I was apprehensive of violence from the mob, it being their last chance before the troops could land. As the prospect of revenge became more certain their courage abated in proportion. Two regiments are landed, but a new grievance is now rais'd. The troops are by act of parliament to be quartered no where else but in the barracks until they are full. There are barracks enough at the castle to hold both regiments. It is therefore against the act to bring any of them into town. (1) This was started by the council in their answer to the governor, which to make themselves popular, they in an unprecedented way published and have alarmed all the province; for although none but the most contracted minds could put such a construction upon the act, yet after this declaration of the council nine tenths of the people suppose it just.

a Vile Lie (a) *vid page 241. &c.*
 Vol. 2. & see page 241. Vol. 2. & *vid* page 242. Vol. 2.
vid Councils Transactions, &c. page 313, & page 328, &c.

see
Gov. Barnards Letters page
 883, 884, 885.
 895, 896, 899.
 Vol. 2.

see Index
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under
Conventi-
on.

see the
Arrival
of Fleet
& Army
page. 263

Vol. 2.
 + *vid* bill
ting act, pa.
 274, Vol. 2.

(1) *vid* page 251.
 Vol. 2.

see Gov.
Barnards
Letters, page
 897, 900, 263, to
 268. Vol. 2.

✓ see billeting
Act page
274. Vol. 2.

I wish the act had been better express'd, but it is absurd to suppose the parliament intended to take from the King the direction of his forces by confining them to a place where any of the colonies might think fit to build barracks. It is besides ungrateful, for it is known to many that this provision was brought into the bill after it had been framed without it, from meet favor to the colonies. I hear the commander in chief has provided barracks or quarters, but a doubt still remains with some of the council, whether they are to furnish the articles required, unless the men are in the province barracks, and they are to determine upon it to day.

The government has been so long in the hands of the populace that it must come out of them by degrees, at least it will be a work of time to bring the people back to just notions of the nature of government.

Mr. Pepperrell a young gentleman of good character, and grandson and principal heir to the late Sir William Pepperrell being bound to London, I shall deliver this letter to him, as it will be too bulky for postage, and desire him to wait upon you with it.

I am with very great esteem,
Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,
THO. HUTCHINSON.

SIR

SIR,

THE great esteem I have for you in every point of light, perhaps renders my fears and doubts for the safety of your person greater than they ought to be; however if that is an error it certainly results from true friendship, naturally jealous. Last night I was informed by a gentleman of my acquaintance, who had his information from one intimate with and knowing to the infernal purposes of the sons of liberty as they falsely stile themselves, that he verily believ'd, from the terrible threats and menaces by those catalines against you, that your life is greatly in danger. This informant I know is under obligations to you and is a man of veracity. He express'd himself with concern for you, and the gentleman acquainting me with this horrid circumstance, assured me he was very uneasy till you had notice. I should have done myself the honor of waiting on you but am necessarily prevented. The duty I owed to you as a friend and to the public as a member of society, would not suffer me to rest till I had put your honor upon your guard; for tho' this may be a false alarm, nothing would have given me greater pain, if any accident had happen'd, and I had been silent. If possible I will see you to morrow, and let you know further into this black affair.

And am with the sincerest friendship
and respect, your honors most obedient, &
and most humble servant,

ROB. AUCHMUTY.

To the hon^{ble} Thomas Hutchinson,

Sept. 14. 1768.

C 2

DEAR

4. See Hutchinson, on this foolish information,
p. 1151,

See you^r

Barnards

Letters, pa,

465, Vol. 2,

of Councils

Transactions

of Resolves

page, 313,

314.

See the

Charter, pa.

1077, Vol. 2

Dear Sir, Boston, 10th December 1768.

I AM just now informed that a number of the council, perhaps 8 or 10, who live in and near this town, have met together and agreed upon a long address or petition to parliament, and that it will be sent by this ship to Mr. Bollen to be presented. Mr. Danforth who is president of the council told the governor upon enquiry, that it was sent to him to sign, and he supposed the rest of the council who had met together would sign after him in order, but he had since found that they had wrote over his name *by order of council*, which makes it appear to be an act of council. This may be a low piece of cunning in him, but be it as it may, it's proper it should be known that the whole is no more than the doings of a part of the council only, although even that is not very material, since, if they had all been present without the governor's summons the meeting would have been irregular and unconstitutional, and ought to be discountenanced and censured. I suppose there is no instance of the privy council's meeting and doing business without the king's presence or special direction, except in committees upon such business as by his majesty's order has been refer'd to them by an act of council, and I have known no instance here without the governor until within three or four months past.

I thought it very necessary the circumstances of this proceeding should be known, tho' if there be no necessity for it, I think it would be best it should not be known that the intelligence comes from me. I am with very great regard, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THO. HUTCHINSON.

Boston,



Boston, 10th January 1769.

DEAR SIR,

YOU have laid me under very great obligations by the very clear and full account of proceedings in parliament, which I received from you by Capt. Scott. You have also done much service to the people of the province. For a day or two after the ship arrived, the enemies of government gave out that their friends in parliament were increasing, and all things would be soon on the old footing; in other words that all the imposing duties would be repealed, the commissioners board dissolved, the customs put on the old footing, and *illicit* trade be carried on with little or no hazard. It was very fortunate that I had it in my power to prevent such a false representation from spreading through the province. I have been very cautious of using your name, but I have been very free in publishing abroad the substance of your letter, and declaring that I had my intelligence from the best authority, and have in a great measure defeated the ill design in raising and attempting to spread so groundless a report. What marks of resentment the parliament will show, whether they will be upon the province in general or particular persons, is extremely uncertain, but that they will be placed somewhere is most certain, and I add, because I think it ought to be so, that those who have been most steady in preserving the constitution and opposing the licentiousness of such as call themselves sons of liberty will certainly meet with favor and encouragement.

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destroy
Constitu-
tion, see
Charter, 1770
V. 1
Molaison
Act, vid
page 9.
Vol. 2-
See
Act, pa.
735, Vol.
1.
See Act
appoint-
ing y.
Board, 7e
pa. 748, vol. 1.
Vol. 1, 8e
their.
Commis.
pa. 253, 7e, 1
Vol. 2, Gen.
Indexes, v. (a)
under
Commis.
pa. 314.
pa.

Oh the Villian!

See Councils Transactions, pa. 313, 314.

✓ He refers I suppose 1157
to the declaratory Act, see p^a 1524, - & indexes, un-
der resolves, &c []

This is most certainly a crisis. I really wish that there may not have been the least degree of severity beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain, I think I may say to you the *dependance* which a colony ought to have upon the parent state; but if no measures shall have been taken to secure this dependance, or nothing more than some declaratory acts or resolves, *it is all over with us.* The friends of government will be utterly disheartened, and the friends of anarchy will be afraid of nothing, be it ever so extravagant.

The last vessel from London had a quick passage. We expect to be in suspense for the three or four next weeks and then to hear our fate. I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the colonies without pain. There must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties. I relieve myself by considering that in a remove from the state of nature to the most perfect state of government there must be a great restraint of natural liberty. I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government in which a colony 3000 miles distant from the parent state shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent state. I am certain I have never yet seen the projection. I wish the good of the colony when I wish to see some further restraint of liberty rather than the connexion with the parent state should be broken; for I am sure such a breach must prove the ruin of the colony. Pardon me this excursion, it really proceeds from the state of mind into which our perplexed affairs often throws me.

I have the honor to be with very great esteem
Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant

THO. HUTCHINSON.

✓ A Vile Traitor
see Councils resolves &c, p^a 313, 314

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See
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tition of
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116. - Bell
of right, p^a
100, vol 2.
X He is
I believe
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it will
prove
our sal
vation.

1158

Boston, 20th October, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I THANK you for your last favor of July 18th. I fancy in my last to you about two months ago I have answered the greatest part of it.

My opinion upon the combination of the merchants, I gave you very fully. How long they will be able to continue them if parliament should not interpose is uncertain. In most articles they may another year, and you run the risque of their substituting when they are put to their shifts something of their own in the place of what they used to have from you, and which they will never return to you for. But it is not possible that provision for dissolving these combinations and subjecting all who do not renounce them to penalties adequate to the offence should not be made the first week the parliament meets. Certainly all parties will unite in so extraordinary case if they never do in any other. So much has been said upon the repeal of the duties laid by the last act, that it will render it very difficult to keep people's minds quiet if that should be refused them. They deserve punishment you will say, but laying or continuing taxes upon all cannot be thought equal, seeing many will be punished who are not offenders. Penalties of another kind seem better adapted.

I have been tolerably treated since the governor's departure, (no other charge being made against me in our scandalous newspapers except my bad principles in matters of government, and this charge has had little effect, and a great many friends promise me support.

See Councils Resolves, &c. p. 313. 314.

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In, in
Index.
Vol. 2.
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vid, p. 735.
Vol. 1
vid.
page
629, Vol.
2.
13, 314.
pa

I must beg the favor of you to keep secret every thing I write, until we are in a more settled state, for the party here either by their agent, or by some of their emissaries in London, have sent them every report or rumor of the contents of letters wrote from hence. I hope we shall see better times both here and in England.

I am with great esteem,
Sir, your most obedient servant,

THO. HUTCHINSON

See index, under Hutchinsons Letters

Boston, 7th May 1767.

SIR,

I AM indebted to you for the obliging manner in which you receiv'd my recommendation of my good friend Mr. Paxton, as well as for the account you are pleased to send me of the situation of affairs in the mother country.

I am very sorry that the colonies give you so much employment, and it is impossible to say how long it will be before things settle into quiet among us. We have some here who have been so busy in fomenting the late disturbances, that they may now think it needful for their own security to keep up the spirit. They have plumed themselves much upon the victory they have gained, and the support they have since met with nor could any thing better shew what they would still be at, than the manner in which by their own account published in the news-papers last August they celebrated the 14th of that month, as the first anniversary commemoration of what they

Repeal Act. 4th Vol. 1. v vide page 477, Vol. 1.

& vid Resolves of the House of Representatives on the Following Letters of

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had done at the tree of liberty on that day the year before. Here a number of respectable gentlemen as they inform us now met, and among other toasts drank general Paoli, and the spark of liberty kindled in Spain. I am now speaking of a few individuals only, the body of the people are well disposed, yet when you come to see the journal of the house of representatives the last session, I fear you will think that the same spirit has seized our public counsels. I can however fairly say thus much in behalf of the government, that the last house was packed by means of a public proscription just before the election, of the greatest part of those who had appeared in the preceding session in the support of government: their names were published in an inflammatory news-paper, and their constituents made to believe they were about to sell them for slaves. Writs are now out for a new assembly, but I cannot answer for the choice: I hope however that the people in general are in a better temper; yet the moderate men have been so browbeaten in the house, and found themselves so insignificant there the last year, that some of them will voluntary decline coming again. I think this looks too much like a despair of the common-wealth, and cannot be justified on patriotic principles.

The election of counsellors was carried like the last year as might have been expected from such a house. The officers of the crown and the judges of the superior court were excluded. And I hear that it is the design of some who expect to be returned members of the house this year to make sure work at the ensuing election of counsellors.

D

vid Resolves of the Council, page 313, 314.
secret. Oliver, Judge Oliver, & Judge Lynde, see page 22

See page 166, Vol. 1.

vid page 477, Vol. 1.

Called y^e Black List, vid. page

372, Vol. 2.

vid the List, page 422, Vol. 1

See indexes under Cor. nica, & Paoli.

(1) see the list, page 658, Vol. 1.

(2) see the list, page 422.

(3) viz. Gov. Hutchinson, Edmund Brombridge, attorney Gen. see below, (a)

1161

Charter

pa. 1077,

Vol. 2.

which

Governor

Hutchinson

in his history

says is im-

proper.

see page

422, Vol. 1.

(1) see under

Representa-

tives in An-

dex to Vol. 1.

(2) vid page

606, Vol. 1.

X About his

having a seat

in Council;

vid answer

to 4th Gov. Speech

page 581, Vol. 1.

(a) see speech page 581, Vol. 1.

see Resolves &c of the Council pa.

313, 314 (3) see the list, pa. 422.

(4) For what? see indexes, under Hutchinson, &c.

fellors, by excluding, if they can, the gentlemen of the council (who by charter remain such till others are chosen in their room) from any share in the choice, tho' they have always had their voice in it hitherto from the first arrival of the charter. // If the house do this, they will have it in their power to model the council as they please, and throw all the powers of government into the hands of the people, unless the governor should again exert his negative as he did the last year.

You have doubtless seen some of the curious messages from the late house to the governor, and can't but have observed with how little decency they have attacked both the governor and the lieutenant governor. They have also in effect forced the council to declare themselves parties in the quarrel they had against the latter in a matter of mere indifference. X In their message to the governor of the 31st of January they have explicitly charged the lieutenant governor (a gentleman to whom they are more indebted than to any one man in the government) with "ambition and lust of power", merely for paying a compliment to the governor agreeable to ancient usage, by attending him to court and being present in the council-chamber when he made his speech^(a) at the opening of the session; at which time they go on to say, "none but the general court and their servants are intended to be present", still holding out to the people the servants of the crown as objects of insignificance, ranking the secretary with their door-keeper, the servants of the assembly; for the secretary with his clerks and the door-keeper are the only persons

1162

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persons present with the assembly on these occasions.

The officers of the crown being thus lessen'd in the eyes of the people, takes off their weight and influence, and the balance will of course turn in favor of the people, and what makes them still more insignificant is their dependance on the people for a necessary support: If something were left to the goodwill of the people, yet nature should be sure of a support. The governor's salary has for about 35 years past been pretty well understood to be a thousand pound a year sterling. When this sum was first agreed to, it was very well; but an increase of wealth since has brought along with it an increase of luxury, so that what was sufficient to keep up a proper distinction and support the dignity of a governor then, may well be supposed to be insufficient for the purpose now. The lieutenant governor has no appointments as such: the captaincy of Castle-William which may be worth £.120 sterling a year is looked upon indeed as an appendage to his commission, and the late lieutenant governor enjoyed no other appointment: he lived a retired life upon his own estate in the country, and was easy. // The present lieutenant governor indeed has other appointments, but the people are quarrelling with him for it, and will not suffer him to be easy unless he will retire also.

The secretary may have something more than £.200 a year sterling. but has for the two last years been allowed £.60 lawful money a year less than had been usual for divers years preceding, tho' he had convinced the house by their committee that without this deduction he would

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vid Resolves of the Council, &c, page 313, 314

Gov^r
ships.
as chief
Judge, &
Judge of
Probate.
x See index
es, under
Hutchinson
son Gov.

have had no more than £.250 sterling per annum in fees, perquisites and salary altogether, which is not the one half of his annual expence.

see Charles
ter page
1077, Vol. 2.

The crown did by charter reserve to itself the appointment of a governor, lieutenant governor and secretary; the design of this was without doubt to maintain some kind of balance between the powers of the crown and of the people; but if officers are not in some measure independent of the people (for it is difficult to serve two masters) they will sometimes have a hard struggle between duty to the crown and a regard to self, which must be a very disagreeable situation to them, as well as a weakening to the authority of government. The officers of the crown are very few, and are therefore the more easily provided for without burdening the people: and such provision I look upon as necessary to the restoration and support of the King's authority.

As they
did in
order to
get the
Stamp Act
repealed,
see index,
Vol. 1, under
Stamp
Act

But it may be said how can any new measures be taken without raising new disturbances? The manufacturers in England will rise again and defeat the measures of government. This game is true has been played once and succeeded, and it has been asserted here, that it is in the power of the colonies at any time to raise a rebellion in England by refusing to send for their manufactures. For my own part I do not believe this. The merchants in England, and I don't know but those in London and Bristol only, might always govern in this matter and quiet the manufacturer. The merchant's view is always to his own interest. As the trade is now managed, the dealer here sends to the merchant in England for his goods; upon these goods the English merchant

see Councils Resolves, &c,
p. 313-314.

1764

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chant puts a profit of 10 or more probably of 15 per cent when he sends them to his employer in America. The merchant is so jealous of foregoing this profit, that an American trader cannot well purchase the goods he wants of the manufacturer; for should the merchant know that the manufacturer had supplied an American, he would take off no more of his wares. The merchants therefore having this profit in view will by one means or other secure it. They know the goods which the American market demands, and may therefore safely take them off from the manufacturer, tho' they should have no orders for shipping them this year or perhaps the next; and I dare say, it would not be longer before the Americans would clamour for a supply of goods from England, for it is vain to think they can supply themselves. The merchant might then put an advanced price upon his goods, and possibly be able to make his own terms; or if it should be thought the goods would not bear an advanced price to indemnify him, it might be worth while for the government to agree with the merchants before hand to allow them a premium equivalent to the advance of their stock, and *then the game would be over.*

I have wrote with freedom in confidence of my name's not being used on the occasion. For though I have wrote nothing but what in my conscience I think an American may upon just principles advance, and what a servant of the crown ought upon all proper occasions to suggest, yet the many prejudices I have to combat with may render it unfit it should be made public

*a vile
Trayton*

*see the Council's Resolves, &c. page
313. 314.*

1165

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q see
indexes,
under
Bernard
Gov.^r

I communicated to governor Bernard what you mentioned concerning him, who desires me to present you his compliments, and let you know that he is obliged to you for the expressions of your regard for his injured character.

I am with great respect,

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

And^w. Oliver.

I ask your acceptance of a journal of the last session which is put up in a box directed to the secretary of the board of trade.

Boston, 11 May, 1768.

S I R,

I AM this moment favored with your very obliging letter by Capt. Jarvis of the 2d March, which I have but just time to acknowledge, as this is the day given out for the ship to sail. I wrote you the 23d of February in reply to your letter of the 28th December, that of the 12th February which you refer to in this of the 2d of March is not yet come to hand. You lay me, sir, under the greatest obligations as well for the interesting account of public affairs which you are from time to time pleased to transmit me, as for your steady attention to my private concerns. I shall always have the most grateful sense of Mr. Grenville's intentions of favor also, whether I ever reap any benefit from them or not. Without a proper support afforded to the king's officers, the

the respect due to government will of course fail; yet I cannot say whether under the present circumstances, and considering the temper the people are now in, an additional provision for me would be of real benefit to me personally or not. It has been given out that no person who receives a stipend from the government at home, shall live in the country. Government here wants some *effectual* support: No sooner was it known that the lieut. governor had a provision of £.200 a year made for him out of the revenue, than he was advised in the Boston Gazette to resign all pretensions to a seat in council, either with or without a voice. The temper of the people may be surely learnt from that infamous paper; it is the very thing that forms their temper; for if they are not in the temper of the writer at the time of the publication, yet it is looked upon as the ORACLE, and they soon bring their temper to it. Some of the latest of them are very expressive, I will not trouble you with sending them, as I imagine they somehow or other find their way to you. But I cannot but apprehend from these papers and from hints that are thrown out, that if the petition of the House to his Majesty and their letters to divers noble Lords should fall of success, some people will be mad enough to go to extremities. The commissioners of the customs have already been openly affronted, the governor's company of Cadets have come to a resolution not to wait on him (as usual) on the day of General Election the 25th instant if those gentlemen are of the company. And the Town of Boston have passed a Note that Faneuil-Hall (in which the governor and his company usually

vid page 100, Vol. 2.

vid Resolves of the Council &c. pa.

313, 314. (1) *see* pa. 1161. (2) *E. des. & Gills.*

(3) *see* indexes, under Commissioners of the Customs

vid
page 191

Vol. 2.

see page
51, Vol. 2.

vid

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L. to Vol. 2

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Letters.

Revenue

from Tea,

vid. act.

pa. 735.

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vid

pa. 99

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q see indexes,
under Com-
missioners
of Customs
& Hutchin-
son, see
indexes,
under
Hutchin-
son
X See index-
es, under
Oliver
Andrew.

usually dine on that day) shall not be opened to him if the commissioners are invited to dine with him. A list of counsellors has within a few days past been printed and dispersed by way of sneer on Lord Shelburne's letter, made up of king's officers; which list, the writer says, if adopted at the next general election may take away all grounds of complaint, and may possibly prove a healing and very salutary measure. The lieutenant governor is at the head of this list, they have done me the honor to put me next, the commissioners of the customs are all in the list except Mr. Temple, and to compleat the list, they have added some of the waiters. I never thought 'till very lately that they acted upon any settled plan, nor do I now think they have 'till of late; a few, a very few, among us have planned the present measures, and the government has been too weak to subdue their turbulent spirits. Our situation is not rightly known; but it is a matter worthy of the most serious attention.

I am with the greatest respect,
Sir, your most obedient and
most humble Servant,

And^r. Oliver.

I shall take proper care to forward
your Letter to Mr. Ingersol. He
had received your last.

|| vid Letter pa. 39, Vol. 2. Boston.

1168
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Boston, 13th February, 1769.

S I R,

I HAVE your very obliging favor of the 4th of October. I find myself constrained as well by this letter as by my son and daughter Spooner's letters since, to render you my most sincere thanks for the very polite notice you have taken of them; and I pray my most respectful compliments to the good lady your mother, whose friendly reception of them at Nonsuch has, I find engaged the warmest esteem and respect—He hath wrote us that he had a prospect of succeeding in the business he went upon; but the last letter we had was from her of the 23d of November, acquainting us that he had been very ill, but was getting better. She writes as a person overcome with a sense of the kindness they had met with, in a place where they were strangers, on this trying occasion.

You have heard of the arrival of the King's troops, the quiet reception they met with among us was not at all surprizing to me.—I am sorry there was any occasion for sending them. X From the address of the gentlemen of the council to General Gage, it might be supposed there was none. I have seen a letter from our friend Ingersoll with this paraphrase upon it—"We hope that your Excellency observing with your own eyes now the troops are among us, our peaceable and quiet behaviour, will be convinced that that wicked G ---- r B ---- d told a fib in saying, We were not so before they came."

1 Vid
Arrival
of the
Troops, &c
page 263.

Vol. 2.

X He
is not to
be believ'd
here!

See the
address
page 288.
Vol. 2.

Gov.
Barnard.

See F.
Presolves. &c of the
Council, pa, 313, 314. I

vid
address
pa. 288
Vol. 2.
vid, pa.
370.

Those
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the Lords.
address, vid
pa. 272,
Vol. 2.

I have given you the sense of a stranger on a single paragraph of this address, because I suspected my own opinion of it, 'till I found it thus confirm'd. If you have the news-papers containing the address, your own good sense will lead you to make some other remarks upon it, as well as to trace the influence under which it seems to have been penned. The disturbers of our peace take great advantage of such aids from people in office and power—The lieutenant governor has communicated to me your letter containing an account of the debates in parliament on the first day of the session. We soon expect their decision on American affairs, some I doubt not with fear and trembling—Yet I have very lately had occasion to know, that be the determination of parliament what it will, it is the determination of some to agree to no terms that shall remove us from our old foundation. This confirms me in an opinion that I have taken up a long time since, that if there be no way to take off the original incendiaries, they will continue to instill their poison into the minds of the people through the vehicle of the BOSTON GAZETTE. &

In your letter to the lieutenant governor you observe upon two defects in our constitution, the popular election of the Council, and the return of Juries by the Towns. The first of these arises from the Charter itself; the latter from our provincial Laws. The method of appointing our Grand Juries lies open to management. Whoever pleases, nominates them at our town-meetings; by this means one who was suppos'd to be a principal in the Riots of the 10th of June last, was upon that Jury whose business it was to in-

see the Charter pa. 107, quire
Vol. 2. 2 Cap. Malcom & see Act
pa. 146. Vol. 2.

quire into them : But the provincial legislature hath made sufficient provision for the return of Petit Juries by their act of 23d Geo. 2d, which requires the several towns to take lists of all persons liable by law to serve, and forming them into two classes, put their names written on separate papers into two different boxes, one for the superior court and the other for the inferior : And when venuries are issued, the number therein required are to be drawn out in open town-meeting, no person to serve oftner than once in three years—The method of appointing Grand Juries appears indeed defective ; but if, the other is not it may be imputed to the times rather than to the defect of the laws—that neither the Grand Juries nor the Petit Juries have of late answered the expectations of government.

As to the appointment of the council, I am of opinion that neither the popular elections in this province, nor their appointment in what are called the royal governments by the King's mandamus, are free from exceptions, especially if the council as a legislative body is intended to answer the idea of the house of lords in the British legislature. There they are suppos'd to be a free and independent body, and on their being such the strength and firmness of the constitution does very much depend : whereas the election for appointment of the councils in the manner before mentioned renders them altogether dependent on their constituents. The King is the fountain of honour, and as such the peers of the realm derive their honours from him ; but then they hold them by a surer tenure than the provincial councillors who are appointed by mandamus. On the

See the Charter 12a, 1077, Vol. 2.

the other hand, our popular elections very often expose them to contempt; for nothing is more common, than for the representatives, when they find the council a little untractable at the close of the year, to remind them that May is at hand.

It may be accounted by the colonies as dangerous to admit of any alterations in their charters, as it is by the governors in the church to make any in the establishment; yet to make the resemblance as near as may be to the British parliament, some alteration is necessary.

It is not requisite that I know of, that a counsellor shou'd be a freeholder; his residence according to the charter is a sufficient qualification; for that provides only, that he be an inhabitant of or proprietor of lands within the district for which he is chosen: whereas the peers of the realm sit in the house of lords, as I take it, in virtue of their baronies. If there should be a reform of any of the colony charters with a view to keep up the resemblance of the three estates in England, the legislative council shou'd consist of men of landed estates; but as our landed estates here are small at present, the yearly value of £.100 sterling per annum might in some of them at least be a sufficient qualification. As our estates are partable after the decease of the proprietor, the honour could not be continued in families as in England: It might however be continued in the appointee *quam diu bene se gesserit*, and proof be required of some mal-practice before a suspension or removal. Bankruptcy also might be another ground for removal. A small legislative council might answer the purposes of government; but it might tend to weaken that

Vid Our Charter, page levelling

1077, Vol. 2 x During good behaviour

levelling principle, which is cherish'd by the present popular constitution, // to have an honorary order establish'd, out of which the council shou'd be appointed. There is no way now to put a man of fortune above the common level, and exempt him from being chosen by the people into the lower offices, but his being appointed a justice of the peace; this is frequently done when there is no kind of expectation of his undertaking the trust, and has its inconveniences. For remedy hereof it might be expedient to have an order of Patricians or Esquires instituted, to be all men of fortune or good landed estates, and appointed by the governor with the advice of council, and enroll'd in the secretary's office, who shou'd be exempted from the lower offices in government as the justices now are; and to have the legislative council (*which in the first instance might be nominated by the Crown*) from time to time fill'd up, as vacancies happen out of this order of men, who, if the order consisted only of men of landed estates, might elect, as the Scottish peers do, only reserving to the King's governor a negative on such choice. The King in this case wou'd be still acknowledged as the fountain of honour, as having in the first instance the appointment of the persons enroll'd, out of whom the council are to be chosen, and finally having a negative on the choice. Or, the King might have the immediate appointment by mandamus as at present in the royal governments. As the gentlemen of the council would rank above the body from which they are taken, they might bear a title one degree above that of esquire. Besides this legislative council, a privy council

1 *Ud Our Charter* 10a, 1077, might
Vol. 2.

might be establish'd, to consist of some or all of those persons who constitute the legislative council, and of other persons members of the house of representatives or otherwise of note or distinction; which wou'd extend the honours of government, and afford opportunity of distinguishing men of character and reputation, the expectation of which wou'd make government more respectable. //

I wou'd not trouble you with these reveries of mine, were I not assured of your readiness to forgive the communication, although you could apply it to no good purpose.

Mr. Spooner sent me a pamphlet under a blank cover, intituled, "*the state of the nation*". I run over it by myself before I had heard any one mention it, and tho't I cou'd evidently mark the sentiments of some of my friends. By what I have since heard and seen, it looks as if I was not mistaken. Your right honorable friend I trust will not be offended if I call him mine—

I am sure you will not when I term you such—I have settled it for a long time in my own mind that without a representation in the supreme legislature, there cannot be that union between the head and the members as to produce a healthful constitution of the whole body. I have doubted whether this union could be perfected by the first experiment. The plan here exhibited seems to be formed in generous and moderate principles, and bids the fairest of any I have yet seen to be adopted. Such a great design may as in painting require frequent touching before it becomes a piece highly finish'd; and after all may require the miliorating hand of time to make it please universally. Thus the British constitution

An Utopian Scheme calculated to make the Common, or lower sort of People, dependent; agreeable to the Feudal Tenure. & George Grenville, was the Author. of An Utopian Scheme, impossible to be put in Practice.

[]

// The pil-
 lars of
 which
 are con-
 tained in
 Magna
 Charta,
 see pa. 790,
 1050; - pe-
 tition of
 right, pa.
 816; - Bill
 of rights,
 see pa. 1053,
 Vol. 2.
 9 George
 Grenville's
 State of
 the nation.
 (1) see
 marginal
 Note, the o-
 ther page.

tion/consider'd as without the colonies attain'd
 it's glory. The book I had sent me is in such
 request, that I have not been able to keep it
 long enough by me, to consider it in all its parts.
 I wish to hear how it is receiv'd in the house of
 commons. I find by the publications both of
 governor Pownall and Mr. Bollan, that they each
 of them adopt the idea of an union and repre-
 sentation, and I think it must more and more
 prevail. (1) The argument against it from local in-
 conveniency, must as it appears to me be more
 than balanc'd by greater inconveniencies on the
 other side the question, the great difficulty will
 be in the terms of union. (2) I add no more, as I
 fear I have already trespass'd much on your
 time and patience, but that I am,

Sir, your obliged and most
 obedient humble Servant,
 And^{rs}. Oliver.

See Resolves of Council
 pa. 313, 314.

New-York, 12th August, 1769.

S I R,

I HAVE been in this city for some time past
 executing (with others) his Majesty's com-
 mission for settling the boundary between this
 province and that of New-Jersey. I left Boston
 the 11th July, since which my advices from
 London have come to me very imperfect; but
 as my friend Mr. Thompson writes me that he
 had drawn up my case and with your approba-
 tion laid it before the D. of Grafton, I think it
 needful

v. vid page. 315, Vol. 2.

needful once more to mention this business to you.

There was a time when I thought the authority of government might have been easily restored; but while it's friends and the officers of the crown are left to an abject dependance on these very people who are *undermining it's authority*; and while these are suffered not only to go unpunished, but on the contrary meet with all kind of support and encouragement, it cannot be expected that you will ever again recover that respect which the colonies had been wont to pay the parent state. Government at home will deceive itself, if it imagines that the taking off the duty on glass, paper and painter's colors will work a reconciliation, and nothing more than this, as I can learn, is proposed in Ld X^H's late circular letter. *Q* It is the principle that is now disputed; the combination *against* importation extends to tea, although it comes cheaper than ever, as well as to the other forementioned articles. In Virginia it is extended lately to wines; and I have heard one of the first leaders in these measures in Boston say, that we should never be upon a proper footing 'till all the revenue ^{acts} from the 15th Charles 2d were repealed. Our assembly in the Massachusetts may have been more illiberal than others in their public messages and resolves; yet we have some people among us still who dare to speak in favor of government: But here I do not find so much as one, unless it be some of the King's servants; and yet my business here leads me to associate with the best. They universally approve of the combination *against* importing of goods from Great-Britain, *des* Merchants agreements *(1)* properly unless speaking, their are but 2 revenue Acts, viz, molasses Act, vid pra, 9, Vol. 2, Tea Act, pra, 735, Vol. 1. & vid in Index, Vol. 1, & 2, under Representatives.

(a) vid Index to Vol. 1, & 2, under Resolves.

1 Vid 4^o Act, page 735, Vol. 1. x L, d. *Hellbrough*

Q See L. *Boletour* *Speech*, pra. 764, Vol. 2.

Q See in Index to Vol. 2, under Merchants agreements *(1)* properly unless speaking, their are but 2 revenue Acts, viz, molasses Act, vid pra, 9, Vol. 2, Tea Act, pra, 735, Vol. 1. & vid in Index, Vol. 1, & 2, under Representatives.

unless the revenue acts are repealed, which appears to me little less than assuming a negative on all acts of parliament which they do not like! They say expressly, we are bound by none made since our emigration, but such as for our own convenience we choose to submit to; such for instance as that for establishing a post-office. The Bill of Rights and the Habeas Corpus Acts, they say are only declaratory of the common law which we brought with us.

Under such circumstance as these, why should I wish to expose myself to popular resentment? Were I to receive any thing out of the revenue, I must expect to be abused for it. Nor do I find that our chief justice has received the £.200 granted him for that service; and yet the assembly have this year withheld his usual grant, most probably because he has such a warrant from the crown.

With regard to my negotiations with Mr. Rogers, I did in conformity to your opinion make an apology to Mr. Secretary Pownall for mentioning it, and there submitted it. I hear it has been since talk'd of; but unless I could be assured in one shape or other of £.300 per annum, with the other office, I would not chuse to quit what I have. (2) I have no ambition to be distinguished, if I am only to be held up as a mark of popular envy or resentment. I was in hopes before now through the intervention of your good offices to have received some mark of favor from your good friend; but the time is not yet come to expect it through that channel! I will

✓ see Mo-
laphes act
pa. 9. vol. 2
— see act
page 735,
vol. 1.

✓ vid Bill
of Rights
page, 1053,
vol. 2.

✓ Vid pa.
191. vol. 2.
+ vid page,
1179.

✓ Lieute-
nant Gov.

✓ see

page 137,

vol. 1. —

✓ Index

to this

Vol. under

post office.

- (1) True, altho' the Parliament, ^{however} passed the declaratory Act, see pa. 524. & See Common Law de-
(2) fined, pa. 964, Vol. 3. — & pa. 691. (2) Secretary

however rely on your friendship, whenever you can with propriety appear in forwarding my interest, or preventing any thing that may prove injurious to it.

If Mr. R. has interest enough to obtain the Secretary's place, I shall upon receiving proper security think myself in honor bound to second his views, though I have none at present from him but a conditional note he formerly wrote me. If he is not like to succeed, and my son Daniel could have my place, I would be content unless affairs take a different turn to resign in his favor, whether administration should think proper to make any further provision for me or not. And yet I never thought of withdrawing myself from the service, while there appeared to me any prospect of my being able to promote it.

If I have wrote with freedom, I consider I am writing to a friend, and that I am perfectly safe in opening myself to you.

I am, with great respect,
Sir, your most obedient,
humble servant,

And^r. Oliver.

See Resolves of the Council p^a. 313, 314

✓ Rogers & vid page 1179.
Was Secretary.

DEAR

DEAR SIR,

THE commissioners of the customs have met with every insult since their arrival at Boston, and at last have been obliged to seek protection on board his Majesty's ship Romney:— Mr. Hallowell, the comptroller of the customs who will have the honor to deliver you this Letter, will inform you of many particulars; he is sent by the Board with their letters to Government. Unless we have immediately two or three regiments, 'tis the opinion of all the friends to government, that Boston will be in open rebellion.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect and warmest regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful

and oblig'd servant,

CHA^S. PAXTON.

On board his Majesty's
Ship Romney, Boston
Harbour, 20th June, 68.

See
Resolves
of the
Council,
pa. 313-314.
of the
House of
Representatives, pa.
309.

See in-
dexes, un-
der men
of War.

(1) See in-
dexes, un-
der Troops
British.

See index under Commissioners, Vol. 2. & the
other indexes.
& see their arrival, pa. 756, Vol. 1.

a vide Traitor!

Boston,

1 vid Commissioners Letters, & Memorials, &c,
page, 915, &c, Vol. 2.

1179

[]

Boston, Decem. 12th 1768.

My DEAR Sir,

I Wrote you a few days ago, and did not then think of troubling you upon any private affair of mine, at least not so suddenly; but within this day or two, I have had a conversation with Mr. Oliver, Secretary of the province, the design of which was my succeeding to the post he holds from the crown, upon the idea, that provision would be made for governor Bernard, and the lieutenant governor would succeed to the chair. (1) then the secretary is desirous of being lieutenant governor, and if in any way, three hundred pounds a year could be annexed to the appointment. You are sensible the appointment is in one department, and the grant of money in another; now the present lieutenant governor has an assignment of £200 a year upon the customs here; he has not received any thing from it as yet, and is doubtful if he shall; he has no doubt of its lapse to the crown, if he has the chair; (2) if then by any interest that sum could be assigned to Mr. Oliver as lieutenant governor, and if he should be allowed (as has been usual for all lieutenant governors) to hold the command of the castle, that would be another £160 (3) This would complet the secretary's views; and he thinks his public services, the injuries he has received in that service, and the favorable sentiments entertained of him by government, may lead him to these views, and he hopes for the interest of his friends. The place of secretary is worth £300 a year, but is a provincial

1178

191, Vol. 2.

see in Index

under, Oliver, Vol. 1.

See Bar-
nards de-
parture,
pa. 620,
Vol. 2.9 see pa.
423, Vol. 3.(1) see
page 423,
Vol. 3.(2) Hute-
hinson

(3) see pa. 1162.

provincial grant at present, so that it will not allow to be quartered on. And as I had view upon the place when I was in England, and went so far as to converse with several men of interest upon it, tho' I never had an opportunity to mention it to you after I recovered my illness—I hope you will allow me your influence, and by extending it at the treasury, to facilitate the assignment of the £. 200 a year, it will be serving the secretary, and it will very much oblige me, — — —

The secretary is advanced in life, tho' much more so in health, which has been much impaired by the injuries he received, and he wishes to quit the more active scenes; he considers this as a kind of *otium cum dignitate*, and from merits one may think he has a claim to it. I will mention to you the gentlemen, who are acquainted with my views and whose favourable approbation I have had. Governor Pownall, Mr. John Pownall, and Dr. Franklin.—My lord Hillsborough is not unacquainted with it—I have since I have been here, wrote Mr. Jackson upon the subject, and have by this vessel wrote Mr. Mauduit. I think my character stands fair—I have not been without application to public affairs, and have acquired some knowledge of our provincial affairs, and notwithstanding our many free conversations in England, I am considered here as on government side, for which I have been often traduced both publicly and privately, and very lately have had two or three slaps. The governor and lieutenant governor are fully acquainted with the negotiation, and I meet their approbation; all is upon the idea the governor is provided for, and there

// see
page
1179

v vid
in In-
dex to
Vol. I. un-
der Oli-
ver.



shall
see p. 303, Vol. 2, 29 Barnard
a reason sufficient with the
Ministry why he should be
promoted. Hutchinson.

vid
page
1179.


occupied
at Present
by Hutchinson.
himson.

(1) Hutchinson.

(2) Oliver.

shall by any means be a vacancy of the lieut. governor's place. I have gone so far, as to say to some of my friends, that rather than not succeed I would agree to pay the secretary £.100 a year out of the office to make up £.300, provided he could obtain only the assignment of £.200—but the other proposal would to be sure be most eligible. I scarce know any apology to make for troubling you upon the subject; the friendship you shewed me in London, and the favourable expressions you made use of to the lieut. governor in my behalf encourage me, besides a sort of egotism, which inclines men to think what they wish to be real. I submit myself to the enquiries of any of my countrymen in England, but I should wish the matter may be secret till it is effected.

I am with very great respect and regard, my dear sir,
Your most obedient, and
most humble servant,

NATH. ROGERS. 

vid page 1179.

See Resolves of the House of
Representatives, p. 309.

ERRATA. P. 5, l. 8, f. influences, r. influence.
In some of the copies p. 8, l. 15, f. received, r. conceived.

See Indexes, Vol. 2, & 3, under
Rogers Nathaniel.

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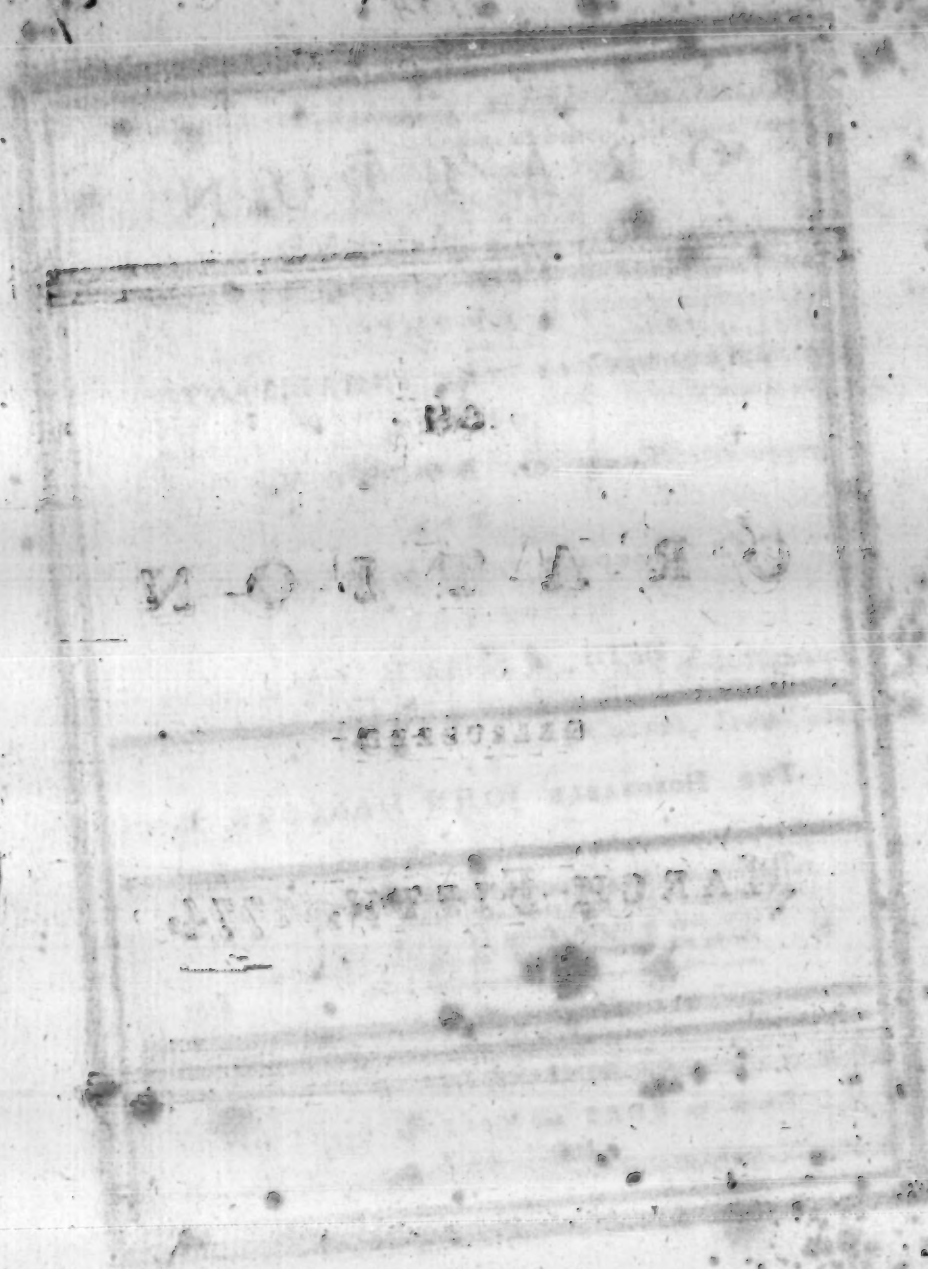
AN
ORATION

DELIVERED

MARCH FIFTH, 1774.

11 Page 60, Vol. 3.

1185



ON

MONDAY

RECEIVED

THE SECRETARY OF THE

1186

AN
ORATION;

DELIVERED

March 5, 1774,

AT THE

REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS

OF THE

TOWN OF BOSTON:

TO

COMMEMORATE THE BLOODY TRAGEDY

OF THE

FIFTH OF MARCH 1770.

BY

THE HONORABLE JOHN HANCOCK, Esq;

Vendit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Imposuit : fixit leges pretio atque refixit.
Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraue centum,
Ferreæ vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
_____ possim.

Virg.

AD Orationem

Printed by EDES and GILL, in QUEEN STREET,
M,DCC,LXXIV.

See page 442, Vol. 3, for the origin of the request. See page 60, Vol. 3.

their names

see index, under

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of BOSTON, duly assembled at Faneuil-Hall, and from thence Adjourn'd to the Old-South-Meeting-House, on Saturday the Fifth of MARCH, Anno Domini, 1774.

UPON a Motion made, Voted Unanimously, That the Thanks of the Town be and hereby are given to the Honorable JOHN HANCOCK, Esq; for the *elegant and spirited* ORATION delivered by him at their Request, in Commemoration of the horrid MASSACRE perpetrated on the Evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by a Party of Soldiers of the XXIXth Regiment, under the Command of Capt. Thomas Preston, and that

Mr. Samuel Adams,
Dr. Joseph Warren,
William Phillips, Esq;
Dr. Benjamin Church,
John Adams, Esq;
Mr. William Molineaux, and
Samuel Pemberton, Esq;

Be a Committee to wait upon Mr. HANCOCK, and, in the Name of the Town, desire a Copy of the ORATION for the Press.

Attest.

WILLIAM COOPER, Town-Clerk.

GENTLEMEN!

THE unanimous Request of the Town of Boston, constrains me, against my private Inclination, to yield to a Publication of this Performance.

*I am, with the utmost Respect,
Gentlemen,*

Your most obliged, and

Most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN HANCOCK.

Boston, March 5th, 1774.

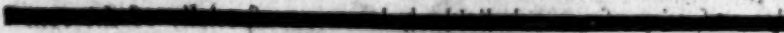
I see Page 60, Vol. 3. & see the Origin of the appointment of the celebration of this Anniversary, pa. 442, Vol. 3. & see indexes, under Troops British.



...and I pray
...to the mind of my country, and
...A N N O U N C E M E N T
...in this place

ORATION.

...to the mind of my country, and
...to the mind of my country, and
...to the mind of my country, and



...to the mind of my country, and
...to the mind of my country, and
...to the mind of my country, and

MEN, BRETHREN, FATHERS, AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN!

...to the mind of my country, and
...to the mind of my country, and
...to the mind of my country, and

THE attentive gravity, the venerable appearance of this
crowded audience, the dignity which I behold in the
countenances of so many in this great Assembly, the
solemnity of the occasion upon which we have met
together, join'd to a consideration of the part I am to take in the
important business of this day, fill me with an awe hitherto un-
known; and heighten the sense which I have ever had, of my un-
worthiness to fill this sacred desk; but, allur'd by the call of some
of my respected fellow-citizens, with whose request it is always my
greatest pleasure to comply, I almost forgot my want of ability to
perform what they required. In this situation, I find my only sup-
port, in assuring myself that a generous people will not severely
censure what they know was well intended, though it's want of

*See Masparie Pa. 60, Vol. 3. // See the origin of merit,
the celebration of this Anniversary, Page. 442, Vol. 3.*

AN O R A T I O N.

merit, should prevent their being able to applaud it. And I pray, that my sincere attachment to the interest of my country, and hearty detestation of every design formed against her liberties, may be admitted as some apology for my appearance in this place.

I HAVE always from my earliest youth, rejoiced in the felicity of my Fellow-men, and have ever consider'd it as the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote, as far as in him lies, the prosperity of every individual, but more especially of the community to which he belongs; and also, as a faithful subject of the state, to use his utmost endeavours to detect, and having detected, strenuously to oppose every traiterous plot which its enemies may devise for its destruction. Security to the persons and properties of the governed, is so obviously the design and end of civil government, that to attempt a logical proof of it, would be like burning tapers at noon-day, to assist the sun in enlightening the world; and it cannot be either virtuous or honorable, to attempt to support a government, of which this is not the great and principal basis; and it is to the last degree vicious and infamous to attempt to support a government which manifestly tends to render the persons and properties of the governed insecure. Some boast of being *friends to government*; I am a friend to *righteous* government, to a government founded upon the principles of reason and justice; but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to *tyranny*. Is the present system which the British administration have adopted for the government of the colonies, a righteous government? Or is it *tyranny*?— Here suffer me to ask (and would to Heaven there could be an

See a list of the violation of our Rights, — answer
pages 100, & the margin there. The tones have assumed that name.

See Our Charter, pa. 1077, Vol. 2. See Churches Oration, pa 1127, &c.

AN ORATION.

answer) What tenderness? What regard, respect or consideration has Great-Britain shewn in their late transactions for the security of the persons or properties of the inhabitants of the colonies? or rather, What have they omitted doing to destroy that security? They have declared that they have, ever had, and of right ought ever to have, full power to make laws of sufficient validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatever: They have exercised this pretended right by imposing a tax upon us without our consent; and lest we should shew some reluctance at parting with our property, her fleets and armies are sent to enforce their mad pretensions. The town of Boston, ever faithful to the British Crown, has been invested by a British fleet: The troops of George the Third have cross'd the wide atlantick, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of TRAITORS in trampling on the rights⁽³⁾ and liberties of his most loyal subjects in America,—those rights⁽²⁾ and liberties which as a father he ought ever to regard, and as a King he is bound in honour to defend from violations, even at the risque of his own life.

But he is a Tyrant; see Crisis, p. 740, &c.

LET not the history of the illustrious house of Brunswick inform posterity, that a King descended from that glorious monarch George the second, once sent his British subjects to conquer and enslave his subjects in America; but be perpetual infamy entail'd upon that villain who dared to advise his Master to such execrable measures; for it was easy to foresee the consequences⁽²⁾ which so naturally followed upon sending troops into America, to enforce obedience to acts of the British parliament, which neither God nor man ever empowered them to make. It was reasonable to expect that troops

see a list of the violation of our rights, p. 1100, &c.

see the declaratory Act page 792, Vol. 1. & Chiefly meant of the Tea Act, p. 735, Vol. 1. & see Arrival of Troops &c. p. 263, & 277, Vol. 2. & see Gov. Barnard, Hutchinson, Oliver, the Commissioners &c. (6)
 (a) See indexes, under Army British, — & Men of War. (6) See indexes, under their names.

(1) Lord Hillsborough, for he was then minister of State for America.

(2) See the Margin over leaf.

(3) See a list of American rights, p. 1089, 1228

AN ORATION.


who knew the errand they were sent upon, would treat the people whom they were to subjugate, with a cruelty and haughtiness, which too often buries the honorable character of a *soldier*, in the disgraceful name of an *unfeeling ruffian*. The troops upon their first arrival took possession of our Senate House, and pointed their cannon against the Judgment-hall, and even continued them there whilst the Supreme Court of Judicature for this Province was actually sitting to decide upon the lives and fortunes of the King's subjects. Our streets nightly resounded with the noise of riot and debauchery; our peaceful citizens were hourly exposed to shameful insults, and often felt the effects of their violence and outrage. But this was not all: As though they thought it not enough to violate our civil Rights, they endeavoured to deprive us of the enjoyment of our religious privileges, to viciate our morals, and thereby render us deserving of destruction. Hence the rude din of arms which broke in upon your solemn devotions in your temples, on that day hallowed by Heaven, and set apart by God himself for his peculiar worship. Hence, impious oaths and blasphemies so often tortur'd your unaccustomed ear. Hence, all the arts which idleness and luxury could invent, were used, to betray our youth of one sex into extravagance and effeminacy, and of the other to infamy and ruin; and did they not succeed but too well? Did not a reverence for religion sensibly decay? Did not our infants almost learn to lisp out curses before they knew their horrid import? Did not our youth forget they were Americans, and regardless of the admonitions of the wise and aged, servilely copy from their tyrants those vices which finally must overthrow the empire of Great-Britain? And must I be

X see *Arrival of Troops, &c.* p. 263, 297. Vol. 2. compelled,
 & see *Journal of the Times*, page, 323, Vol. 2. & see *Journal*
of the Times, p. 327, 352. Vol. 2. & For proof, see *Jour-*
nal of the Times, throughout page 323, Vol. 2.

(a) - & indexes, under *Troops British*, & *Men of War*

(1) see *American rights*, p. 1089, 1228. & *To enslave us*, see
List of Grievances, p. 971.

A N O R A T I O N.

compelled to acknowledge, that even the noblest, fairest part of all the lower creation did not entirely escape the cursed snare? When virtue has once erected her throne within the female breast, it is upon so solid a basis that nothing is able to expel the heavenly inhabitant. But have there not been some, few indeed, I hope, whose youth and inexperience have render'd them a prey to wretches, whom upon the least reflection, they would have despised and hated as foes to God and their country? I fear there have been some such unhappy instances; or why have I seen an honest father clothed with shame? or why a virtuous mother drowned in tears? 

BUT I forbear, and come reluctantly to the transactions of that dismal night, when in such quick succession we felt the extremes of grief, astonishment and rage; when Heaven in anger, for a dreadful moment, suffer'd Hell to take the reins; when Satan with his chosen band open'd the sluices of New-England's blood, and sacrilegiously polluted our land with the dead bodies of her guiltless sons. Let this sad tale of death never be told without a tear; let not the heaving bosom cease to burn with a manly indignation at the barbarous story, thro' the long tracts of future time: Let every parent tell the shameful story to his listening children till tears of pity glisten in their eyes, and boiling passion shakes their tender frames; and whilst the anniversary of that ill-fated night is kept a jubilee in the grim court of pandæmonium; let all America join in one common prayer to Heaven, that, the inhuman, unprovok'd murders of the Fifth of March 1770, planned by Hillsborough, and a knot of treacherous knaves in Boston, and executed by the cruel hand of

See *Journal of the Times*, page 323, &c. Vol. 2. Preston
 See *Account of the Massacre*, pa. 60, Vol. 3. As Gov.
 Barnard, Gov. Hutchinson, Cha. Paxton, &c. &c. See *Barnard's*
Letters, pa. 831, Vol. 2. & *Hutchinson's*, *Olivers*, & *Paxton's Letters*,
 pa. 1144, 1159, 1178^(a) (1) He was American Secretary when the troops came.
 (a) See index under Hutchinson's Letters.

1193
AN O R A T I O N.

Preston and his sanguinary coadjutors, may ever stand on history without a parallel. But what, my countrymen, withheld the ready arm of vengeance from executing instant justice on the vile assassins? Perhaps you fear'd promiscuous carnage might ensue, and that the innocent might share the fate of those who had performed the infernal deed. But were not all guilty? Were you not too tender of the lives of those who came to fix a yoke on your necks? But I must not too severely blame a fault, which great souls only can commit. May that magnificence of spirit which scorns the low pursuits of malice, may that generous compassion which often preserves from ruin, even a guilty villain, forever actuate the noble bosoms of Americans!—But let not the miscreant host vainly imagine that we fear'd their arms. No; them we despis'd; we dread nothing but slavery. Death is the creature of a Poltroon's brains; 'tis immortality, to sacrifice ourselves for the salvation of our country. We fear not death. That gloomy night, the pale fac'd moon, and the affrighted stars that hurried through the sky, can witness that we fear not death.—Our hearts, which at the recollection glow with a rage that four revolving years have scarcely taught us to restrain, can witness that we fear not death; and happy 'tis for those who dared to insult us, that their naked bones are not now piled up an everlasting monument of Massachusetts's bravery. But they retir'd, they fled, and in that flight they found their only safety. We then expected that the hand of publick justice would soon inflict that punishment upon the murderers, which by the laws of God and man they had incurred. But let the unbiass'd pen of a Robinson,⁽¹⁾ or perhaps of some

See Account of the Massacre, p. 60, Vol. 3. equally
See Journal of the Times, p. 323 &c. Vol. 2. x see page 61.
 Vol. 3 (1) Doct. Robertson of Scotland.

AN ORATION.

equally fam'd American, conduct this trial before the great tribunal of succeeding generations. And though the murderers may escape the just resentment of an enraged people, though drowsy justice intoxicated by the poisonous draught prepared for her cup, still nods upon her rotten seat, yet be assured, such complicated crimes will meet their due reward. Tell me, ye bloody butchers, ye villains high and low, ye wretches who contrived, as well as you who executed the inhuman deed, do you not feel the goads and stings of conscious guilt pierce through your savage bosoms? Though some of you may think yourselves exalted to a height that bids defiance to the arms of human justice, and others shrowd yourselves beneath the mask of hypocrisy, and build your hopes of safety on the low arts of cunning, chicanery and falshood; yet, do you not sometimes feel the gnawings of that worm which never dies? Do not the injured shades of Maverick, Gray, Caldwell, Attucks and Carr, attend you in your solitary walks, arrest you even in the midst of your debaucheries, and fill even your dreams with terror? But if the unappeased manes of the dead should not disturb their murderers, yet surely even your obdurate hearts must shrink, and your guilty blood must chill within your rigid veins, when you behold the miserable Monk, the wretched victim of your savage cruelty. Observe his tottering knees which scarce sustain his wasted body, look on his haggard eyes, mark well the deathlike paleness on his fallen cheek, and tell me, does not the sight plant daggers in your souls? Unhappy Monk! Cut off in the gay morn of manhood from all the joys which sweeten life, doom'd to drag on a pitiful existence without even a hope to

See Trial of the Soldiers, page 785, Vol. 3, & taste

Comments on the Trial of Preston, &c. in Index, under Vindex, & Philanthrop, in Index Vol. 3, & see Massacre Tra. 60, Vol. 3.

He was present at the delivery of the Oration.

Alluding to the Judges, receiving their pay from the King, see index, under Judges.

1194.
they who
planned
the scheme
of
Troops
coming
to America
vid. Mar-
ginal
note,
the last
page
but one.
1192.

AN O R A T I O N.

taste the pleasures of returning health ! Yet Monk, thou livest not in vain ; thou livest a warning to thy country which sympathises with thee in thy sufferings ; thou livest an affecting, an alarming instance of the unbounded violence which lust of power, assisted by a standing army, can lead a traitor to commit.

FOR us he bled, and now languishes. The wounds by which he is tortur'd to a lingering death were aim'd at our country ! surely the meek-eyed charity can never behold such sufferings with indifference. Nor can her lenient hand forbear to pour oil and wine into these wounds ; and to assuage at least, what it cannot heal.

PATRIOTISM is ever united with humanity and compassion. This noble affection which impels us to sacrifice every thing dear, even life itself, to our country, involves in it a common sympathy and tenderness for every citizen, and must ever have a particular feeling for one who suffers in a publick cause. Thoroughly persuaded of this, I need not add a word to engage your compassion and bounty towards a fellow citizen, who with long protracted anguish falls a victim to the relentless rage of our common enemies.

YE dark designing knaves, ye murderers, parricides ! how dare you tread upon the earth, which has drank in the blood of slaughter'd innocents shed by your wicked hands ? How dare you breathe that air which wasted to the ear of heaven the groans of those who fell a sacrifice to your accursed ambition ? But if the labouring earth

See Account of the Massacre, pa. 60, vol. 3. doth

See Arrival of Army, &c. pa. 263, 297, vol. 2. (a) There was collected for him, £ 317, old Tenny, vid. pa. 460.

See Marginal Note, page, 1192. (a) & Indexes, under Troops British. & see list of Grievances, pa. 97, &c.

1196

AN ORATION.

doth not expand her jaws, if the air you breathe is not commissioned to be the minister of death; yet, hear it, and tremble! the eye of Heaven penetrates the darkest chambers of the soul, traces the leading clue through all the labyrinths which your industrious folly has devised; and you, however you may have screen'd yourselves from human eyes, must be arraigned, must lift your hands, red with the blood of those whose death you have procur'd, at the tremendous bar of God. *see Marginal Note, page 1192*

BUT I gladly quit the gloomy theme of death, and leave you to improve the thought of that important day, when our naked Souls must stand before that Being, from whom nothing can be hid.— I would not dwell too long upon the horrid effects which have already follow'd from quartering regular troops in this town; let our misfortunes teach posterity to guard against such evils for the future. Standing armies are sometimes, (I would by no means say generally, much less universally) composed of persons who have render'd themselves unfit to live in civil society; who have no other motives of conduct than those which a desire of the present gratification of their passions suggests; who have no property in any country;—Men who have lost or given up their own liberties, and envy those who enjoy liberty; who are equally indifferent to the glory of a GEORGE or a Lewis; who for the addition of one penny a day to their wages would desert from the christian cross, and fight under the crescent of the Turkish Sultan; from such men as these, what has not a state to fear? With such as these, usurping Cæsar pass'd the Rubicon; with such as these he humbled mighty Rome, and

see Account of the Massacre, p. 60, Vol. 3.

see Journal Times, p. 323, &c. Vol. 2. & account of the Massacre, p. 60, Vol. 3. — & indexes, under Standing Armies, Soldiers — & Troops.

AN ORATION.

and forc'd the mistress of the world to own a master in a traitor. These are the men whom scepter'd robbers now employ to frustrate the designs of God, and render vain the bounties which his gracious hand pours indiscriminately upon his creatures. By these the miserable slaves in Turkey, Persia, and many other extensive countries, are render'd truly wretched, though their air is salubrious, and their soil luxuriously fertile.—By these France and Spain, 'tho' blessed by nature with all that administers to the convenience of life, have been reduc'd to that contemptible state in which they now appear; and by these Britain ——— But if I was possess'd of the gift of prophecy, I dare not, except by divine command, unfold the leaves on which the destiny of that once powerful kingdom is inscrib'd.

BUT since standing armies are so hurtful to a state, perhaps, my countrymen may demand some substitute, some other means of rendering us secure against the incursions of a foreign enemy. But can you be one moment at a loss? Will not a *well disciplin'd militia* afford you ample security against foreign foes? We want not courage; it is discipline alone in which we are exceeded by the most formidable troops that ever trod the earth. Surely our hearts flutter no more at the sound of war, than did those of the immortal band of Persia, the Macedonian phalanx, the invincible Roman legions, the Turkish Janissaries, the Gens des Armes of France, or the *well known Grenadiers of Britain*. A well disciplin'd militia is a safe, an honourable guard to a community like this, whose inhabitants are by nature brave, and are laudably tenacious of that freedom in which they were born. From a well regulated militia we have nothing to

|| See Index, vol. 3, & this, under *Militia*.—see the ¹¹ *main* ¹ *general Note*, under *Militia*, p. 1198.

¶ See *English Government*, p. 532, Vol. 2, — & p. 540, — & *Crisis*, p. 740, &c.

v See indexes, under *Troops*, — *Soldiers*, — & *Standing Armies*.

(1) See *List of American rights*, p. 1089, 1228.

AN ORATION.

fear; their interest is the same with that of the state. When a country is invaded, the militia are ready to appear in it's defence; they march into the field with that fortitude which a consciousness of the justice of their cause inspires; they do not jeopard their lives for a master who considers them only as the instruments of his ambition, and whom they regard only as the daily dispenser of the scanty pittance of bread and water. No, they fight for their houses, their lands, for their wives, their children, for all who claim the tenderest names, and are held dearest in their hearts, they fight *pro aris & focis*, for their liberty, and for themselves, and for their God.) And let it not offend if I say, that no militia ever appear'd in more flourishing condition, than that of this province now doth; and pardon me if I say,—of this town in particular.—I mean not to boast; I would not excite envy, but manly emulation. We have all one common cause; let it therefore be our only contest, who shall most contribute to the security of the liberties of America. And may the same kind providence which has watched over this country from her infant state, still enable us to defeat our enemies. I cannot here forbear noticing the signal manner in which the designs of those who wish not well to us have been discovered. The dark deeds of a treacherous Cabal, have been brought to publick view. You now know the serpents who, whilst cherished in your bosoms, were darting their invenom'd stings into the vitals of the constitution. But the Representatives of the people have fixed a mark on those ungrateful monsters, which, though it may not make them so secure as Cain of old, yet renders them at least as infamous. Indeed it would be affrontive to the tutelar deity of this country eye to despair of saving it from all the snares which human policy can lay.

All truth, the militia of the 13 United States; the New England States in particular, have in divers instances, proved vastly superior to British troops; witness the capture of the capital, &c.

TRUE BURGESS'S Army, &c.

See Index, Vol. 3, & this, under militia.

See in Index to this Volume, under militia.

See Hutchinsons, &c. Letter, page 114, &c. 74, &c. See Resolves page 309, 313, 314. & See Dr Franklin's Letter, pa. 460.

See list of grievances, pa. 971. & See our Charter, pa. 1077, Vol. 2. (a) & Index, under Letters of Oliver, Paxton, &c.

AN ORATION.

TRUE it is, that the British ministry have annexed a salary to the office of the Governor of this province, to be paid out of a revenue raised in America without our consent. They have attempted to render our Courts of Justice the instruments of extending the authority of acts of the British parliament over this colony, by making the Judges dependent on the British administration for their support. But this people will never be enslaved with their eyes open. The moment they knew that the Governor was not such a Governor as the charter⁽¹⁾ of the province points out, he lost his power of hurting them. They were alarmed; they suspected him, have guarded against him, and he has found that a wise and a brave people, when they know their danger, are fruitful in expedients to escape it.

(1) See
the Charter
page
1077, vol. 2.

(2) vid
Resolve,
page 318.

(3) See
Index
under
Tea.

(4) See the
Grant to the
Judges, pa.
223, 246

THE Courts of Judicature also so far lost their dignity by being supposed to be under an undue influence, that our Representatives thought it absolutely necessary to Resolve⁽²⁾ that they were bound to declare that they would not receive any other salary besides that which the General Court should grant them; and if they did not make this declaration, that it would be the duty of the House to Impeach them.⁽³⁾

GREAT expectations were also formed from the artful scheme of allowing the East India company to export Tea to America upon their own account.⁽³⁾ This certainly, had it succeeded, would have effected the purpose of the contrivers, and gratified the most sanguine wishes of our adversaries. We soon should have found our trade in the

hands
v see page 576, vol. 3. & Hutchinsons. message, pa. 97.
&c. this Volume. & From Tea. &c. vid the act, pa. 735, vol. 1.
x vid Index, under Judges, & see Resolves of the
House, pa. 112.

AN ORATION.

hands of foreigners, and taxes imposed on every thing which we consumed; nor would it have been strange, if in a few years a company in London should have purchased an exclusive right of trading to America. But their plot was soon discovered.—The people soon were aware of the poison which with so much craft and subtilty had been concealed? Loss and disgrace ensued: and perhaps this long-concerted, master-piece of policy, may issue in the total diffuse of TEA in this country, which will eventually be the saving of the lives and the estates of thousands⁽¹⁾.—Yet while we rejoice that the adversary has not hitherto prevailed against us, let us by no means put off the harness. Restless malice, and disappointed ambition will still suggest new measures to our inveterate enemies.—Therefore let Us also be ready to take the field whenever danger calls, let us be united and strengthen the hands of each other, by promoting a general union among us.—Much has been done by the Committees of Correspondence for this and the other towns of this province towards uniting the inhabitants; let them still go on and prosper. Much has been done by the Committees of Correspondence for the Houses of Assembly in this and our Sister Colonies, for uniting the Inhabitants of the whole Continent for the security of their common interest. May success ever attend their generous endeavours. But permit me here to suggest a general Congress of Deputies from the several Houses of Assembly on the Continent, as the most effectual method of establishing such an Union as the present posture of our affairs requires. At such a Congress, a firm foundation⁽²⁾ may be laid for the security of our Rights⁽³⁾ and Liberties; a system⁽²⁾ may be formed for our common safety, by a strict adherence to which we shall

(1) The People would not forgo the use of it.

x We were; see index, under Army of the United Colonies. One was appointed see index, under Congress Continental. (2) see index, under Congress Continental. (3)

o see Index, under D Tea. 1 see page, 415, 416, & index, under Tea.
 ✓ see list of Infringements, p. 1100, &c. (a) // see Index, under Towns, (b)
 & see Index, under Committees of Correspondence of the Assemblies. (a) & p. 971. (c) & Committee of Correspondence, — & the Names of the first Committee, p. 1087 (3) see American rights, p. 1089, 1228.

AN O R A T I O N.

be able to frustrate any attempts to overthrow our constitution; restore peace and harmony to America, and secure honor and wealth to Great Britain, even against the inclinations of her ministers, whose duty it is to study her welfare; and we shall also free ourselves from those unmannerly pillagers who impudently tell us, that they are licenced by an act of the British parliament to thrust their dirty hands into the pockets of every American. But I trust, the happy time will come, when with the besom of destruction, these noxious vermin will be swept for ever from the streets of Boston. (3)

See List
of Grievances

pa. 97.

see our
Charter

pa. 107.

Vol. 2.

(2) see Cha-
racter of
the Ministry

Grievances, pa.

740, &c.

(3) True, they
fled with the
Army, see

pa. 723, &c.

(4) They did, see
index, under
Army of the United
Colonies.

SURELY you never will tamely suffer this country to be a den of thieves. Remember, my friends, from whom you sprang—Let not a meanness of spirit, unknown to those whom you boast of as your Fathers, excite a thought to the dishonour of your mothers. I conjure you by all that is dear, by all that is honourable, by all that is sacred, not only that ye pray, but that you act; that, if necessary, ye fight, and even die for the prosperity of our Jerusalem. Break in sunder, with noble disdain, the bonds with which the Philistines have bound you. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed by the soft arts of luxury and effeminacy, into the Pit digged for your destruction. Despise the glare of wealth. That people who pay greater respect to a wealthy villain, than to an honest upright man in poverty, almost deserve to be enslaved; they plainly shew that wealth, however it may be acquired, is in their esteem, to

be prefer'd to virtue.
X via, the Commissioners of the Customs, &
their gang. & see Molasses Act, pa. 9, Vol. 2. But

& see Act, pa. 735, Vol. 1. (1) see the Act appoint-
ing them, pa. 748, Vol. 1, & yr. Commission, pa. 253, Vol. 2,
& index, under Commissioners of the Customs.

AN ORATION.

BUT I thank God, that America abounds in men who are superior to all temptation, whom nothing can divert from a steady pursuit of the interest of their country; who are at once it's ornament and safe-guard. And sure I am, I should not incur your displeasure, if I paid a respect so justly due to their much honoured characters in this public place; but when I name an ADAMS, such a numerous host of Fellow-patriots rush upon my mind, that I fear it would take up too much of your time, should I attempt to call over the illustrious roll: But your grateful hearts will point you to the men; and their revered names, in all succeeding times, shall grace the annals of America. From them, let us, my friends, take example; from them let us catch the divine enthusiasm; and feel, each for himself, the God-like pleasure of diffusing happiness on all around us; of delivering the oppressed from the iron grasp of tyranny; of changing the hoarse complaints and bitter moans of wretched slaves, into those cheerful songs, which freedom and contentment must inspire. There is a heart-felt satisfaction in reflecting on our exertions for the public weal, which all the sufferings an enraged tyrant can inflict, will never take away; which the ingratitude and reproaches of those whom we have sav'd from ruin cannot rob us of. The virtuous assertor of the Rights of mankind, merits a reward, which even a want of success in his endeavours to save his country, the heaviest misfortune which can befall a genuine Patriot, cannot entirely prevent him from receiving.

x Mr Samuel Adams^(a) (who was present,) our Representative.

As Major Hawley, Th Cushing, Deacon

I HAVE

Phillips, Mr Molineaux, Mr Cooper, &c, &c, &c, &c, &c, &c.

(a) A truly glorious incorruptible Patriot, who has always (at the peril of his life) stood foremost in the face of danger. He is a second Andrew Marvell. See list of Grievances, pa. 97.

1203

AN O R A T I O N.

I HAVE the most animating confidence that the present noble struggle for liberty, will terminate gloriously for America. ♦ And let us play the man for our God, and for the cities of our God; while we are using the means in our power, let us humbly commit our righteous cause to the great Lord of the universe, who loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity.—And having secured the appro-

As under God it did in the Enc. bation of our hearts, by a faithful and unwearied discharge of our duty to our country, let us joyfully leave her important concerns in the hands of HIM who raiseth up and putteth down the empires and kingdoms of the world as He pleases; and with cheerful submission to His sovereign will, devoutly say,

v see list

of Grievances, pa. 97. " Although the Fig-Tree shall not Blossom, neither shall Fruit be in the Vines; the Labour of the Olive shall fail, and the Fields shall yield no Meat; the Flock shall be cut off from the Fold,

|| They did, " and there shall be no Herd in the Stalls: Yet we will rejoice in the LORD, we will joy in the GOD of our Salvation."

see index, under Army of the United

see list of Grievances, pa. 97. — & indexes, under Towns, County, Assembly, Representatives, resolves, riots, &c. & Tea Destroyed.

Colonies, — Naval Affairs, &c

Hancock, John

✓ Oct. 21, 1774 1204

TO THE
PEOPLE of GREAT-BRITAIN,
FROM THE
DELEGATES

Appointed by the several ENGLISH COLONIES
of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-
Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut,
New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower
Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-
Carolina, and South-Carolina, to consider of
their Grievances in GENERAL CONGRESS,
at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.

Friends and Fellow Subjects,

WHEN a Nation, led to greatness by the hand of
Liberty, & possessed of all the glory that heroism,
munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to
the ungrateful task of forging chains for her Friends & Chil-
dren, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate
for Slavery and Oppression, there is reason to suspect she
has either ceased to be virtuous or been extremely negligent
in the appointment of her rulers.

In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and
bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and power-
ful nations, against the open assaults of enemies and the more
dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your
Island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their
independence and transmitted the rights of men and the
blessings of liberty to you their posterity.

Be not surprised therefore, that we, who are descended
from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers
participated in all the rights, the liberties and the constitu-
tion, you so justly boast, and who have carefully conveyed the
same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith
of government and the most solemn compacts with British
sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who
ground their claims on no principles of reason, and who pro-
secute them with a design, that by having our lives and
property

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// In pa-
bular,
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Charta,

pa. 790.

1050, - pe-

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rights, pa.

816; Bill

of rights

pa. 1053,

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ssachusetts

Charter,

pa. 1077,

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Grievances, pa. 532, Vol. 2, & pa. 540, - & Grievances, pa. 741

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ces, pa.

971.

See list
of English

Grievan-
ces, pa.

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8 pa. 540.

8 Crisis,

pa. 740, &c.

2 See the

side Man-

gin, pa.

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See Act.

See pa. 735.

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Molash's Act.

pa. 9, Vol.

2.

See 2nd

See Act.

pa. 559.

See A-

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rights,

pa. 1089, 1228

See magna Charta, pa. 790, 1080.

property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave you. &

The cause of America is now the object of universal attention: it has at length become very serious. & This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, & but abused and misrepresented; & the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject.

Know then, That we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be, as free as our fellow subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent.

That we claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English constitution, and particularly that inestimable one of trial by jury. &

That we hold it essential to English Liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence. &

That we think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe. & These rights, we, as well as you, deem sacred. And yet sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated. &

Are not the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain Lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their consent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever?—You know they will not.

Why then are the Proprietors of the soil of America less Lords of their property than you are of yours, or why should they submit it to the disposal of your Parliament, or any other Parliament, or Council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity in rights, or can any reason be given, why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it? &

Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. & And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases

without

See magna Charta, pa. 790, 1080.

Bill of rights, pa. 1058, Vol. 2.

See declaratory Act, pa. 524.

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ces, pa.

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on, pa.

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(1) m^r

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(2) Earl

of Bute,

see index

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der Bute.

(3) see

List of

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ces, pa.

971.

(4) see

Pitt's

speech,

pa. 409,

Vol. 1

without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the Pope can divest Kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

At the conclusion of the late war—a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a Minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame: At the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a Minister of principles, and of a family unfriendly to the protestant cause, and inimical to liberty. We say at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your fellow subjects in America was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution.

Prior to this era you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You restrained our trade in every way that could conduce to your emolument. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea. You named the ports and nations to which alone our merchandize should be carried, and with whom alone we should trade; and though some of these restrictions were grievous, we nevertheless did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent state to which we were bound by the strongest ties: And were happy in being instrumental to your prosperity and your grandeur.

We call upon you yourselves, to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interest of the whole empire. Did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which, you confessed, we had advanced beyond our proportion and far beyond our abilities? You did.

To what causes, then, are we to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery which was prepared for us at the restoration of peace.

(5) See on regulation of Trade, pa. 591, Vol. 3, & pa. 667, 685, 1228. (6) See merits of the Massachusetts Bay, pa. 557.

Before

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Act, pa. 53,
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X See list
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it was given

also to Go-
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of Governors

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(1) see me-

rits of the

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(2) see Sea

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9 Vol. 2.

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(4) see index, under admiralty courts of (3) see on

Common Law, pa. 964, Vol. 3, & pa. 591.

Before we had recovered from the distresses which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppressive Stamp-act.¹ Paint, Glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations, were taxed; nay, although no Wine is made in any country, subject to the British state, yet a prohibited our procuring it of foreigners, without paying a tax, imposed by your parliament, on all we imported. These and many other impositions were laid upon us most unjustly and unconstitutionally, for the express purpose of raising a Revenue.² In order to silence complaint, it was, indeed, provided, that this revenue should be expended in America for its protection and defence.³ These exactions, however, can receive no justification from a pretended necessity of protecting and defending us.⁴ They are lavishly squandered on court favorites and ministerial dependents, generally avowed enemies to America and employing themselves, by partial representations, to traduce and embroil the Colonies.⁵ For the necessary support of government here, we ever were and ever shall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute our full proportion of men and money.⁶ To enforce this unconstitutional and unjust scheme of taxation,⁷ every fence that the wisdom of our British ancestors had carefully erected against arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America,⁸ and the inestimable right of trial by jury taken away in cases that touch both life and property.⁹ It was ordained, that whenever offences should be committed in the Colonies against particular Acts imposing various duties and restrictions upon trade, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalties in the Courts of Admiralty;¹⁰ by which means the subject lost the advantage of being tried by an honest uninfluenced jury of the vicinage,¹¹ and was subjected to the sad necessity of being judged by a single man, a creature of the Crown, and according to the course of a law which exempts the prosecutor from the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliges the defendant either to evince his innocence or to suffer.¹² To give this new indicatory the greater importance, and as, if with design to protect false accusers, it is further provided, that the Judge's certificate of there having been probable causes of seizure and prosecution, shall protect the prosecutor from actions at common law for recovery of damages.¹³ (3) See Magna Charta, pa. 799, 1053.

position of right, pa. 516. - Bill of rights, pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

(4) see index, under admiralty courts of (3) see on

Common Law, pa. 964, Vol. 3, & pa. 591.

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(3) see index, under *Merchandise*

By the course of our law, offences committed in such of the British dominions in which courts are established and justice duly and regularly administered, shall be there tried by a jury of the vicinage. & There the offenders and the witnesses are known, and the degree of credibility to be given to their testimony can be ascertained.

Under Agreement
Vol. 3, & under Sea, the same Volume

In all these Colonies, justice is regularly and impartially administered, and yet by the construction of some and the direction of other Acts of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages that result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money. (1)

(4) see index Vol. 1, under *Sea*

When the design of raising a revenue from the duties imposed on the importation of tea into America had in great measure been rendered abortive by our ceasing to import that commodity, a scheme was concerted by the Ministry with the East India Company, and an Act passed enabling and encouraging them to transport and vend it in the Colonies. (2) Aware of the danger of giving success to this insidious manoeuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be established among us, various methods were adopted to elude the stroke. (3) The people of Boston, then ruled by a Governor, whom, as well as his predecessor Sir Francis Bernard, all America considers as her enemy, were exceedingly embarrassed. (4) The ships which had arrived with the tea were by his management prevented from returning.

(5) *Hutchinson, see index, under Hutchinson*
Under Barnard

—The duties would have been paid; the cargoes landed and exposed to sale; a Governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchasers. (5) While the town was suspended by deliberations on this important subject, the tea was destroyed. (6) Even supposing a trespass was thereby committed, and the Proprietors of the tea entitled to damages. (7) The Courts of Law were open, and Judges appointed by the Crown presided in them. — The East India Company however did not think proper to commence any suits, nor did they even demand satisfaction either from individuals or from the community in general. (8) The Ministry, it seems, officiously made the case their own, and the great Council of the nation descended to intermeddle with a dispute about private property. (9) Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated ex parte evidence were laid before them, neither the persons who destroyed the tea, nor the people of

(6) see index, under *Town of Boston*

(7) see *pa. 415, 416*
(8) see index, under *Commons*
House of debate in, on the Tea being destroyed

& see *Our Charter, pa. 1077, Vol. 2, & Magna Charta, pa. 790, 1050, Vol. 2, & see index, under Admiralty Courts*
of (1) see *Act against burning King's Ships, pa. 176, & under Act, pa. 509* (2) see *Sea Act, pa. 735, Vol. 1*

See in-
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of
Boston,
See.
See in-
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Sea.

(1) See
Port Act,
pa. 499.

(2) See in-
dexes, un-
der men
of war.

(3) See
indexes,
under
Army
British.

(4) See
Suffer-
ings of
Boston,
page, 541,
596. (5)

See mag-
na Charta,
pa. 799, 1050
petition
of right,
pa. 846, —
bill of rights,
pa. 1058, vol. 2. (6) See Sea destroyed, pa. 415, 416. — See
of index, under Sea. (7) See list of Grievances, pa. 97.

(8) See Charter, pa. 1077, vol. 2. (9) See their arrival, pa. 1077, vol. 2. (10) See the Act, 592.

Boston were called upon to answer the complaint. The Ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favorite scheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistence from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by confessing the omnipotence of Parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property. (1)

Let justice and humanity cease to be the boast of your nation! consult your history, examine your records of former transactions, nay turn to the annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surrounded you, and shew us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for imputed crimes? unheard, unquestioned, and without even the specious formality of a trial; and that too by laws made expressly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact committed. If it be difficult to reconcile these proceedings to the genius and temper of your laws and constitution, the task will become more arduous when we call upon our ministerial enemies to justify, not only condemning men untried and by hearsay, but involving the innocent in one common punishment with the guilty, and for the act of thirty or forty, to bring poverty, distress and calamity on thirty thousand souls, and those not your enemies, but your friends, brethren, and fellow Subjects. (4)

It would be some consolation to us, if the catalogue of American oppressions ended here. It gives us pain to be reduced to the necessity of reminding you, that under the confidence reposed in the faith of government, pledged in a royal charter from a British Sovereign, the forefathers of the present inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay left their former habitations, and established that great, flourishing, and loyal Colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their rights, without being heard, without being tried, without law and without justice, by an Act of Parliament, their charter is destroyed, their liberties violated, their constitution and form of government changed. And all this upon no better pretence, than because in one of their towns a trespass was committed on some merchandize, said to belong to one of the Companies, and because the Ministry were of opinion, that such high political regulations were necessary to compel due subordination and obedience to their mandates.

(6) See Sea destroyed, pa. 415, 416. — See of index, under Sea. (7) See list of Grievances, pa. 97. (8) See Charter, pa. 1077, vol. 2. (9) See their arrival, pa. 1077, vol. 2. (10) See the Act, 592.

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See Proclamation, pa. 579

County, Assembly
of the Continental, & Pro
of the Country, &c.

Not are these the only capital grievances under which we labor.

We might tell of dissolute, weak and wicked Governors having been set over us; of Legislatures being suspended for asserting the rights of British subjects—of needy and ignorant dependents on great men, advanced to the seats of justice and to other places of trust and importance;—of hard restrictions on commerce, and a great variety of lesser evils, the recollection of which is almost lost under the weight and pressure of greater and more poignant calamities.

Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving us. V. see Crisis, pa. 740, &c.

Well aware that such hardy attempts to take our property from us; to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury; to seize our persons, and carry us for trial to Great-Britain; to blockade our ports; to destroy our Charters, and change our forms of government, would occasion, and had already occasioned, great discontent in all the Colonies; which might produce opposition to these measures: An Act was passed to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment, such as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavouring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution. And by another Act the same

(10) See index, un-

representations; Com-

mercial, riots, resolves,

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lutions of the
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pa. 436, 472,
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dening ships
pa. 176.

And in this
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(1) See

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(2) see in-

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(3) see

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(4) see

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pa. 1053, vol. 2.

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(8) see Charter,

vol. 2. (10) see

Boston were called upon to answer the complaint. & The Ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favorite scheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistence from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by confessing the omnipotence of Parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property. (1)

Let justice and humanity cease to be the boast of your nation! consult your history, examine your records of former transactions, nay turn to the annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surrounded you, and shew us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for imputed crimes? unheard, unquestioned, and without even the specious formality of a trial, and that too by laws made expressly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact committed. If it be difficult to reconcile these proceedings to the genius and temper of your laws and constitution, the task will become more arduous when we

Weak, & wicked Governors, &c.

see list of Governors, pa. 591.

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pa. 769. — & Chronology, pa. 1073.

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2, 3, & 4. — & index Vol. 3, & 4

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(1) See

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79, Vol. 2

(2) See

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(3) See

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8 Crisis,

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(4) See

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8 pa. 540, & Crisis,

pa. 740, &c.

But

9 In particular,

to enjoy the benefits of Magna

Charta, see pa. 790, 1050,

petition of right, pa. 816,

Bill of Rights, pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

8c. (5) See in-

country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world. &

This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

Admit that the Ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery. Such an enterprize would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with Pensioners and Placemen. We presume, also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious—in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?

May not a Ministry with the same armies enslave you—it may be said, you will cease to pay them—but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast Continent; will then be in the power of your enemies—nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state. See Crisis pa. 740, &c.

Do not treat this as chimerical—Know that in less than half a century, the quit-rents reserved to the Crown, from the numberless grants of this vast continent, will pour large streams of wealth into the royal coffers, and if to this be added the power of taxing America at pleasure, the Crown will be rendered independent on you for supplies, and will possess more treasure than may be necessary to purchase the remains of Liberty in your Island.—In a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation—To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies—Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness, we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire—we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own.

See Crisis, pa. 532, Vol. 2, & pa. 540, & Crisis, pa. 740, &c. But in particular, to enjoy the benefits of Magna Charta, see pa. 790, 1050, petition of right, pa. 816, Bill of Rights, pa. 1053, Vol. 2. &c. (5) See in-

v See
list of
Grievan-

But if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of Mankind—If neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we never will submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world. ✓

Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.

But lest the same supineness and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shewn, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

(2) By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the Ministry have endeavoured to induce submission to their measures.—The like fate may befall us all, we will endeavour therefore to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessities and some of the conveniences of life.—We have suspended our importation from Great Britain and Ireland; and in less than a year's time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and the West Indies. (3)

It is with the utmost regret however, that we find ourselves compelled by the over-ruling principles of self-preservation, to adopt measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great Britain & Ireland. But we hope, that the magnanimity and justice of the British Nation will furnish a Parliament of such wisdom, independence and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked Ministers and evil Counsellors whether in or out of office, and thereby restore that harmony, friendship and fraternal affection between all the inhabitants of his Majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.

(6) The CONGRESS then resumed the Consideration of the Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies, and the same being debated by Paragraphs and amended, was approved, and is as follows—

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TO

- (4) See English Grievances, pa. 532, Vol. 2, & pa. 540, & C. viii, pa. 740, &c., & American Grievances, pa. 971. (5) See Character of the Ministry, pa. 740, &c. (6) See index, under Congress Continental.

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TO THE
INHABITANTS OF THE COLONIES

Of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-
Island and Providence Plantations; Connecticut,
New York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Coun-
ties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware,
Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South
Carolina.

Friends and Fellow Countrymen,

WE, the Delegates appointed by the good people of
the above Colonies to meet at Philadelphia in Sep-
tember last, for the purposes mentioned by our respective
Constituents, have in pursuance of the trust reposed in us,
assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the
important matters recommended to the Congress. Our reso-
lutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you.
But as the situation of public affairs grows daily more and
more alarming; and as it may be more satisfactory to you
to be informed by us in a collective body, than in any other
manner, of those sentiments that have been approved, upon
a full and free discussion by the Representatives of so great
a part of America, we esteem ourselves obliged to add this
Address to these Resolutions.

In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or
of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the creator
of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed
of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes
by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be
justified: That neither affection on the one hand, nor resent-
ment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to
reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all
the circumstances, and settle the public conduct on the solid
foundations of wisdom and justice.

From Councils thus tempered arise the surest hopes of the
divine favour, the firmest encouragement to the parties en-
gaged and the strongest recommendation of their cause to
the rest of mankind.

Gage Governor. (2) See list of Grievances, With
pa. 97

With minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately and calmly enquired into and considered those exertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great-Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention considered the conduct of the Colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those we wish to revere.—In making our choice of these distressing difficulties, we prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard for the welfare of our country.

(1)

Soon after the conclusion of the late war, there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of these Colonies. By a statute made in the fourth year of the present reign, a time of *profound peace*; alledging "the expediency of new provisions and regulations for extending the commerce between Great-Britain and his Majesty's dominions in America, and the necessity of raising a Revenue in said dominions for defraying the expences of defending, protecting and securing the same," the Commons of Great-Britain undertook to give and grant to his Majesty many rates and duties, to be paid in these Colonies. To enforce the observance of this Act, it prescribes a great number of severe penalties and forfeitures; and in two sections makes a remarkable distinction between the subjects in Great-Britain and those in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *there* are to be recovered in any of the King's Courts of Record at Westminster, or in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *here* are to be recovered in any Court of record, or in any Court of Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty, at the election of the informer or prosecutor. (3)

The Inhabitants of these Colonies, confiding in the justice of Great-Britain, were scarcely allowed sufficient time to receive and consider this Act, before another, well known by the name of the Stamp Act, and passed in the fifth year of this reign, engrossed their whole attention. By this statute the British Parliament exercised in the most explicit manner a power of taxing us, and extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty in the Colonies, to matters arising within the body of a county, directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures, thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the said Courts. (3)

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of Queer
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(3) See
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(4) See
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pa. 53, Vol. 1.
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(1) See pa.
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(2) See
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(3) See this

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Margin,

pa. 1214.

(4) See the

above

Margin.

(5) See pa.

735, Vol. 1.

In the same year a tax was imposed upon us, by an Act, establishing several new fees in the customs. In the next year, the Stamp Act was repealed; not because it was founded in an erroneous principle, but, as the repealing Act recites, because "the continuance thereof would be attended with many inconveniencies, and might be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest of Great-Britain."

In the same year, and by a subsequent Act, it was declared, "that his Majesty in Parliament, of right, had power "to bind the people of these Colonies by Statutes IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER."

In the same year, another Act was passed, for imposing rates and duties payable in these Colonies. In this Statute the Commons avoiding the terms of *giving* and *granting* "humbly besought his Majesty that it might be enacted, &c." But from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were "in lieu of," several others granted by the Statute first before mentioned for raising a revenue and from some other expressions it appears, that these duties were intended for that purpose.

(2) In the next year (1767.) an Act was made "to enable his Majesty to put the customs and other duties in America under the management of Commissioners, &c." and the King thereupon erected the present expensive Board of Commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution the several Acts relating to the revenue and trade in America.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, having again resigned ourselves to our ancient unsuspecting affections for the parent state, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favourable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above mentioned Statutes made subsequent to that repeal.

Administration attributing to trifling causes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year (1767) to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a Statute commonly called the *Glass, Paper and Tea Act*, made fifteen months after the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Commons of Great-Britain resumed their former language, and again undertook to "give and grant rates and duties to be paid in these Colonies," for the express purpose of "raising a revenue, to defray the charges of the administration."

[7] see pa. 121, Vol. 2. - 8
admiralty Courts, *via*, &
135, vol. 1. on *molass* []
(9) see *magna Charta* -

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(5) see *Sea Act*, pa.
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administration of justice, the support of civil government, and
defending the King's dominions, & on this continent. The
penalties and forfeitures, incurred under this Statute, are to
be recovered in the same manner, with those mentioned in
the foregoing Acts. &

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The's

pa. 53, Vol. 1.

To this Statute, & so naturally tending to disturb the tran-
quility then universal throughout the Colonies, Parliament,
in the same session, added another no less extraordinary,

Ever since the making the present peace, a standing army
has been kept in these Colonies. From respect to the mo-
ther country, the innovation was not only tolerated, but the
provincial Legislatures generally made provision for supply-
ing the troops (2)

The Assembly of the province of New-York, having pas-
sed an Act of this kind, but differing in some articles, from
the directions of the Act of Parliament made in the fifth
year of this reign, the House of Representatives in that Co-
lony was prohibited by a Statute made in the session last
mentioned, from making any bill, order, resolution or vote,
except for adjourning or chusing a Speaker, until provision
should be made by the said Assembly for furnishing the
troops within that province, not only with all such necessa-
ries as were required by the Statute which they were charged
with disobeying, but also with those required by two other
subsequent Statutes, which were declared to be in force until
the twenty fourth day of March 1769. (1)

These Statutes of the year 1767 revived the apprehen-
sions and discontent that had entirely subsided on the re-
peal of the Stamp Act; and amidst the just fears and jea-
lousies thereby occasioned, a Statute was made in the next
year (1768) to establish Courts of Admiralty and Vice-
Admiralty on a new model, expressly for the end of more
effectually recovering the penalties and forfeitures inflicted
by Acts of Parliament framed for the purpose of raising a
revenue in America, &c. (7)

The immediate tendency of these Statutes is, to subvert
the right of having a share in legislation, by rendering As-
semblies useless; the right of property, by taking the money
of the Colonists without their consent; the right of trials by
jury, by substituting in their places trials in Admiralty and
Vice-Admiralty Courts, where single judges preside, holding
their Commissions during pleasure; and unduly to influence
all Courts of common law, by rendering the Judges thereof
totally dependant on the Crown for their salaries. (10)

See pa. 1215, & the above page.

(3) see index, under Towns, Representatives, assemblies
petitions, resolves, riots, & under Stamp Act, Vol. 1. &
Merchants agreements, Vol. 1. (4) see index Vol. 2, under
the foregoing heads. (10) see in above, under Judges independent

to See p^a.

1214, 1215, 1216.

1217

t. 3

✓ see list of

Grievances,

p^a. 971, &

Gross, p^a.

740. &c.

(1) Contra

ry to Gov^r

Pournals

Grinige, &c.

p^a. 21, Vol. 1 &

315, 470.

Vol. 2.

✓ see a-

merican

rights, p^a.

1089, 1228.

(2) see

indexes, un-

der Petiti-

ons, & remon-

strances, &

addresses,

(3) see Me-

rits of the

Mass. Bay.

p^a. 557.

(4) see

indexes,

under

Barnard

These Statutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found, not only to form a regular system, in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system, for subjugating these Colonies, that are not, and from local circumstances, cannot be represented in the House of Commons, to the uncontrollable and unlimited power of Parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated supplications. (2)

This conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable, when it is considered how unprovoked it has been by any behaviour of these Colonies. From their first settlement, their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them a charge of disloyalty to their Sovereign or disaffection to their Mother-Country. In the wars she has carried on, they have exerted themselves whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services, which she has publicly acknowledged to be extremely important. (3) Their fidelity, duty and usefulness during the last war, were frequently and affectionately confessed by his late Majesty and the present King.

The reproaches of those, who are most unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled against the province of Massachusetts Bay; but with what little reason, will appear by the following declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence, in their favour, will not be questioned—Governor Bernard thus addresses the two Houses of Assembly—in his speech on the 24th of April 1762—“The unanimity and dispatch, with which you have complied with the requisitions of his Majesty, require my particular acknowledgments (2) And it gives me additional pleasure to observe, that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general empire, and as the body of a particular province.”

In another speech on the 27th of May, in the same year, he says,—“Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us, that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. (3) Every thing that hath been required of it hath been complied with; (3) and the execution of the powers committed to me, for raising the provincial troops hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. (3) Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field as they have been

(3) see
merits of
the massBay, pa
557.(4) see
Conclu-
sion of war,
pa. 1054,
Vol. 2.(5) see in-
dex, under
Towns, re-
presenta-
tives, as-
semblies, pe-
titions, riots,
resolves—Merchants
agreement,
of Stamp
Act, Vol. 1.(6) see act,
pa. 53, Vol. 1.(7) see pa. 411,
Vol. 1. (8)see pa. 550,
Vol. 1.—8pa. 444,
628, 638,

651, Vol. 1.

(9) see pa.
550, Vol. 1.(10) see ind-
ex, underriots, & St-
amp Act,
Vol. 1.(11) see add-
ed, pa. 51,
Vol. 2. (12)see pa. 47, Vol.
2.

this year; the common people seemed to be animated with the spirit of the General Court, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the King." (3)

Such was the conduct of the people of the Massachusetts-Bay, during the last war. (3) As to their behaviour before that period, it ought not to have been forgot in Great-Britain, that not only on every occasion they had constantly and cheerfully complied with the frequent royal requisitions—but that chiefly by their vigorous efforts, Nova Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisbourg in 1745. (3)

Foreign quarrels being ended, and the domestic disturbances, that quickly succeeded on account of the Stamp-act, being quieted by its repeal, the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay transmitted an humble address of thanks to the King and divers Noblemen, and soon after passed a bill for granting compensation to the sufferers in the disorders occasioned by that act. (6)

These circumstances and the following extracts from Governor Bernard's Letters (14) in 1768, to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly shew, with what grateful tenderness they strove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late discords, and with what respectful reluctance they endeavoured to escape subjects of future controversy. "The House (says the Governor) from the time of opening the session to this day, has shewn a disposition to avoid all dispute with me; every thing having passed with as much good humour as I could desire, except only their continuing to act in addressing the King, remonstrating to the Secretary of State, and employing a separate agent. (13) It is the importance of this innovation, without any wilfulness of my own, which induces me to make this remonstrance at a time when I have a fair prospect of having, in all other business, nothing but good to say of the proceedings of the House."

"They having acted in all things, even in their remonstrance with temper and moderation; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation."†

"I shall make such a prudent and proper use of this Letter as, I hope, will perfectly restore the peace and tranquillity of this province, for which purpose considerable steps have been made by the House of Representatives."‡

F

The

* January 21, 1768, † January 30, 1768, ‡ February 2, 1768.

see pa. 835, Vol. 2, see pa. 835, Vol. 2, see pa. 836, Vol. 2

(13) M^r DeBerth, see pa. 59, Vol. 2, & pa. 508, Vol. 3

(14) see Letter, pa. 831, &c. Vol. 2.

V see (77) See *Tea Act* 1219 *pa.* 735, *Vol. 1* - *Molaf. ad*
Barnard's *pa.* 9, *Vol. 2*.
(8) see note (1) I in *Margin* *pa.* 1220.

Letters, pa.

The vindication of the province of Massachusetts Bay contains
891, *See* *Voted* in these letters will have greater force, if it be considered,
2. *q* *see* that they were written several months after the fresh alarm
page given to the colonies by the statutes passed the preceding year.

1214, 1215 In this place it seems proper to take notice of the insinua-
1216 tion in one of these statutes, that the interference of Parlia-
(1) *see* ment was necessary to provide for "defraying the charge of
"the administration of justice, the support of civil govern-
"ment, and defending the King's dominions in America."

Tea Act As to the two first articles of expence, every colony had
pa. 735, made such provision, as by their respective Assemblies, the
Vol. 1 best judges on such occasions, was thought expedient, and
suitable to their several circumstances. Respecting the last,
it is well known to all men the least acquainted with Ame-
rican affairs, that the colonies were established, and have
generally defended themselves, without the least assistance
from Great-Britain; and, that at the same time her taxing
them by the statutes before mentioned, most of them were
labouring under very heavy debts contracted in the last war.

(2) *see* So far were they from *ring* their money, when their
Merits Sovereign, constitutionally, asked their aids, that during the
of the course of that war, Parliament repeatedly made them com-
mas. Bay pensations for the expences of those strenuous efforts, which,
pa. 557, consulting their zeal rather than their strength, they had
Letters to cheerfully incurred. (3)
L. Hillsb. Severe as the Acts of Parliament before mentioned are,
rough, pa. yet the conduct of Administration has been equally injurious,
q 47, *Vol. 2* and irritating to this devoted country. (4)
8 *pa.* 661, Under pretence of governing them, so many new institu-
666, tions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced,
(3) *see* at could only be expected from incensed masters, for collec-
merits of ting the tribute or rather the plunder of conquered provinces.
the mass. By an order of the King, the authority of the Commander
Bay, pa. in chief, and under him of the Brigadiers general, in time
557, of peace, is rendered supreme in all the civil governments in
(4) *see list* America; and thus an uncontrollable military power is vested
of Grie. in officers, not known to the constitution of these colonies.
varces, pa. A large body of troops, and a considerable armament of
971, ships of war have been sent to assist in taking their money
without their consent. (7) (8)

Expensive & oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the
acts of corruption industriously practised to divide and destroy.

The Judges of the Admiralty and Vice Admiralty Courts
are impowered to receive their salaries and fees from the
British. (5) See *American rights, pa.* 1089, 1228; -
& *Magna Charta, pa.* 790, 1050, - *petition of rights*
pa. 816, - *Bill of rights, pa.* 1059, - & *Mass. Charter*
pa. 1077, *Vol. 2*. (6) See indexes, under *mon of war*

(6) *see index*
er, under
Army

(7) *see* *British*

(8) *see* *British*

(9) *see* *British*

(10) *see* *British*

(11) *see* *British*

(13) see index, vol. 2, 122 Under Represent
of Mass. Bay their Letters, &c.

(1) see
indexes
under

effects to be condemned by themselves; the Commissioners
of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses
without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on
legal information. (1)

Admiral
by vice
Courts
of, & Jud-
ges names
& salaries
pa. 374,
& 379—
Vol. 2—
Finders
under
Commis-
of Custo-
ms, &c. &
their Com-
mission,
pa. 253.
Vol. 2, 3,
(2) see
index, —
Vol. 4,
under
Judges.

Judges of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely
dependent on the Crown for their commissions and salaries.

A Court has been established at Rhode-Island, for the
purpose of taking Colonists to England to be tried. (3)

Humble and reasonable petitions from the Representatives
of the people have been frequently treated with contempt
and Assemblies have been repeatedly & arbitrarily dissolved.

From some few instances it will sufficiently appear, on what
pretences of justice those dissolutions have been founded.

The tranquility of the colonies having been again disturbed,
as has been mentioned, by the statutes of the year 1767, the
Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a letter to Go-
vernor Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, censures the "pre-
sumption" of the House of Representatives for "resolving

"upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature as that of

"writing to the other colonies, on the subject of their

"intended representations against some late Acts of

"Parliament," then declares that, "his Majesty considers

"this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable

"combinations to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the

"constitutional authority of Parliament."—and afterwards

adds, "It is the King's pleasure, that as soon as the General

"Court is again assembled, at the time prescribed by the Char-

"ter, you should require of the House of Representatives, in

"his Majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which gave

"birth to the circular letter from the Speaker, and to declare

"their disapprobation of, and dissent to that rash and hasty

"proceeding. (8)

"If the new Assembly should refuse to comply with his

"Majesty's reasonable expectation, it is the King's pleasure,

"that you should immediately dissolve them." (7)

(3) see
index,
under
Judges.
(3) see
index,
under
Commis-
appointed
for Gaspee
affair.
(4) see in-
dexes, un-
der peti-
tions. (5)
see Mar-
shal Note
pa. 971.

(1) see
index,
under
Judges.
(3) see
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(4) see in-
dexes, un-
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tions. (5)
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shal Note
pa. 971.

(1) see
index,
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Judges.
(3) see
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Commis-
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for Gaspee
affair.
(4) see in-
dexes, un-
der peti-
tions. (5)
see Mar-
shal Note
pa. 971.

This letter being laid before the House, and the resolu-
tion not being rescinded according to the order, the Assembly
was dissolved. (10) A letter of a similar nature was sent to other
Governors to procure resolutions approving the conduct of
the Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay to be rescinded
also; and the Houses of Representatives in other Colonies
refusing to comply, Assemblies were dissolved.

These mandates spoke a language, to which the ears of
English subjects had for several generations been strangers.

(6) see pa. 124, 125, 116. (7) see pa. 157, Vol. 2.

(8) The Circular Letter, see pa. 153, Vol. 2. (9) see the Charter
pa. 1077, Vol. 2. (10) see pa. 157, &c. 161, & pa. 163, Vol. 2.

(11) see pa. 153, Vol. 2. (12) see index, vol. 2—Letters, & Resolves.

(1) see *pa* 81 see the *1221* (9) see indexes, under
1220 - the *Charter, pa.* *army British, & men*
1077, vol. 2. *of war.*

Marginal Notes
(2) see the arrival of Army & Fleet, *pa.*
263, 297, Vol. 2. *see indexes, under Representatives &c.*
9 see *pa.* 1214, 1215, 1216, to see the Statutes. *The nature of Assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation; but these commands, proscribing the exercise of judgment on the propriety of the requisitions made, left the Assemblies only the election between dictated submission and the threatened punishment: A punishment too, founded on no other act, than such as is deemed innocent even in slaves — of agreeing in petitions for redress of grievances, that equally affected all.* (1)

Administration, determined to subdue a spirit of freedom, which English Ministers should have rejoiced to cherish, entered into a monopolising combination with the East-India company, to send to this continent vast quantities of Tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a statute, that, in a particular manner, attacked the liberties of America, and which therefore the inhabitants of these Colonies had resolved not to import. (4) The cargo sent to South-Carolina was stored, and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New-York were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, (5) because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned. (5)

On the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public spirited town last mentioned was singled out for destruction, and it was determined, the province it belongs to should partake of its fate. In the last session of parliament therefore were passed the acts for shutting up the port of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, and changing their chartered constitution of government. (7) To enforce these acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army. (9)

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them. For tho' it is pretended, that the province of Massachusetts-Bay has been particularly disrespectful to Great Britain, yet in truth the behaviour of the people, in other colonies, has been an equal "opposition to the power assumed by parliament. No step however has been taken against any of the rest. This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected that the province of Massachusetts-Bay

Merchants resolves, &c. Vol. 3. & under Tea. Vol. 3. & 4. (6) see index, under Tea, — & *pa* 415, 416 — 427. (6) see index, under Commons & House of debates in — & Town of Boston. (7) see Acts, *pa.* 499, *pa.* 509, — 532. (10) see marginal note *pa.* 1222.

May will be irritated into some violent action, that may displease the rest of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated Ministry.

If the unexampled pacific temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped the other Colonies will be so far intimidated as to desert their brethren, suffering in a common cause, and that thus disunited all may be subdued.

To promote these designs, another measure has been pursued. In the session of parliament last mentioned, an act was passed, for changing the government of Quebec, by which act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established; and the people there deprived of the right to an assembly, trials by jury and the English laws in civil cases abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws established, in direct violation of his Majesty's promise by his royal proclamation², under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that province, and the limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions, that lie adjoining to the northernly and westernly boundaries of these colonies.⁽¹⁾

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves, that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of government and faith.⁽³⁾

From the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt that a resolution is formed and now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of these Colonies by subjecting them to a despotic government.⁽⁴⁾

At this unhappy period, we have been⁽⁵⁾ authorized and directed to meet and consult together for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavoured to discharge it with integrity. Tho' the state of these colonies would certainly justify other measures than we have advised⁽⁵⁾, yet weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted.⁽⁵⁾ In the first place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character these colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and

(2) see Proclamation, pa. 579. & see Magna Charta, pa. 790, 1050, Vol. 2. (3) see the foregoing pages, from pa. 1212, &c. (4) see list of Grievances, pa. 971, & Crisis, pa. 740, &c. (5) see index under Congress Continues

see Magna
see Magna
ginal
Note, pa.

1221, M.

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see ind.

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der Towns

& resolves

viol. Town

of Boston

Letters

& indexes

under

Tea, to

see the

behaviour

of the Pro-

vince, see

also ments

of the M.

Bay, pa.

557. &

see list of

Grievances

pa. 971, &

(1) see the

Act, pa.

559.

(1) see
Congress

1223

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Petitions, pa.

656, 791.

& see list

of Grievances,

pa. 971.

(2) see

indexes,

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(3) see

resolve

pa. 606

& see

list of Grievances, pa. 971.

Grievances, pa. 532, Vol. 2.

therefore, we were induced to offer once more to his Majesty, the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding with the tender affection, which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom from which we derive our original, we could not forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction, that the colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that body subsists the social band, which we ardently wish *may never* be dissolved, and which *cannot* be dissolved, until their minds shall become *indisputably hostile*, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting with the powers of the realm the destructive measures already operating against the colonists; and in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every regard, but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have chosen a method of opposition, that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow citizens on the other side the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us to an immediate interruption of commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We trust they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting that we subject ourselves to similar inconveniences; that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced, and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for freedom so often contended for by our ancestors.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity and good sense, we repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded, that *they*, the defenders of true religion, and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate protestant brethren in the colonies, in favour of our open and their own secret enemies; whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

Another

list of Grievances, pa. 971. & list of English Grievances, pa. 532, Vol. 2. & list of English Grievances, pa. 740.

q see
Congress
Agreement
Pa. 606.
X See list
of Grievan
ces, Pa. 97.
See index
under
Towns, Co-
untys, As-
sembly, Re-
presenta-
tives, res-
olves, notes
petitions,
Congress
Contin-
ental, &
Provin-
cial, vis-
ing of
the Co-
untry, &c

Another reason, that engaged us to prefer the com-
mercial mode of opposition, arose from an assurance,
that this mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted
in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will
be influenced by those laudable principles, cannot be
questioned. Your own salvation and that of your pos-
terity now depends upon yourselves. You have already
shown that you entertain a proper sense of the bless-
ings you are striving to retain. Against the tempo-
rary inconveniences you may suffer from a stoppage of
trade, you will weigh in the opposite balance, the en-
dless miseries you and your descendants must endure
from an established arbitrary power. You will not
forget the honour of your country, that must from your
behaviour take its title in the estimation of the world, to
glory, or to shame; and you will, with the deepest atten-
tion, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition re-
commended by us, be broken and rendered ineffectual,
as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a
contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently pre-
dict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to
choose, either a more dangerous contest, or a final,
ruinous, and infamous submission.

Motives thus cogent; arising from the emergency
of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost dili-
gence and zeal, to give all possible energy to the pacific
measures calculated for your relief: but we think
ourselves bound in duty to observe to you, that the
schemes agitated against these colonies, have been so con-
ducted, as to render it prudent, that you should extend
your views to the most unhappy events and be in all
respects prepared for every contingency. Above all
things we earnestly entreat you, with devotion of spirit,
penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble
yourselves and implore the favour of Almighty God.
And we fervently beseech his divine goodness, to take
you into his gracious protection. Amen, Amen.

(1) without breaking the Association, we were ob-
liged to enter into a more dangerous contest, as
our enemies forced us into it, See index, under
Army of the United Colonies, & Naval Aff-
airs. (2) We will not submit. (3) The War began the
next Spring, see Pa. 723, &c

✓ 1225

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FRIDAY October 14, 1774.

The CONGRESS came into the following
Resolutions.—

WHEREAS, since the close of the last war, the British parliament claiming a power, or right to bind the people of America, by statute in all cases whatsoever, hath in some sets expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

And whereas in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in time of peace. And it has lately been resolved in parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty fifth year of the reign of King Henry the eighth, colonists may be transported to England and tried there upon accusations for treasons and misprisions, or concealments of treasons committed in the colonies: and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned.

And whereas in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made: one entitled, "An act to discontinue in such manner, and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, loading or shipping of goods, wares and merchandize."

See index, under Congress Continental.

See the close, pa. 1054, Vol. 2. q. see declaratory Act, pa. 524. x see the Tea Act, pa. 735, Vol. 1. Molasses Act, pa. 9, Vol. 2. // see list of Grievances, pa. 971. (1) see indexes, under Commissioners board of Trade. (2) see indexes, under Admiralty, vice Courts of

(2) see
indexes,
Vol. 3, &

4, under
Judges,

& as they
are in the
Mass. Bay,

in one sense
as the Govt

appoints, &

the Council

Consents,

see Charter

pa. 1071,

Vol. 2.

(3) see in-

indexes, und-

er Standing

Armies, Vol-

ties, Troops

British.

* See reso-

lves, pa.

436, 472, Vol.

2. (4) see

pa. 176.

(5) see Port

Act, pa. 499.

" at

See

the Act,

pa. 532,

" at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, in North-America." Another entitled, " An Act for the better regulating the government of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England." And another entitled, " An Act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England." And another statute was then made, for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, &c." All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights.

See the

Murder Act

pa. 509.

See Quebec

Act, pa. 559.

See List

of Grievances,

page

971. To see

all the

beforemen-

tioned sta-

tutes.

X As ap-
pears by the

Pillars of

the British

Constitu-

tion, viz,

Magna

Charta, pa.

790, - 1050.

petition

of right,

pa. 816.

Bill of

rights, pa. 1053,

vol. 2. (1) See American rights, pa. 1089. - 1228.

(2) See margin, pa. 971. & see list of Grievances, pa.

971. (3) See indexes, under Petitions. (4) see pa. 561, Vol. 2.

pa. 843. See index, under Congress Continental.

(5) at the revolution.

And whereas, assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt by his Majesty's ministers of state.

The good people of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, New-Castle Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place, as Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, **DECLARE,**

That the inhabitants of the English colonies, in North-America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles

of the British Charter, page 1077,

See American rights, pa. 1089. - 1228.

See margin, pa. 971. & see list of Grievances, pa.

971. (3) See indexes, under Petitions. (4) see pa. 561, Vol. 2.

pa. 843. See index, under Congress Continental.

(5) at the revolution.

principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following RIGHTS.

Resolved, N. C. D. (2). That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property: and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, N. C. D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

Resolved, N. C. D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

Resolved, 4. That the foundation of English liberty and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial Legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bona fide, restrained, to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

Resolved, N. C. D. 5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law. (5)

Resolved,

(3) See indexes, under Representation, - American Colonies. & Marginal Note marked (1) pa. 1217. (4) See Magna Charter, pa. 1077, Vol. 2. x See Our Consent to Acts of Trade, pa. 591, Vol. 3. & pa. 667, 685. & See on Common Law, pa. 964, Vol. 3. & pa. 691. (5) See indexes, under Juries, - & Magna Charter, pa. 790.

(1) In particular,

to Magna Charta,

the 10a. 790, 1059,

pa. - petition

of right,

pa. 816,

Bill of rights,

pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

See their

first emi-

gration to

N. England,

pa. 1090,

Vol. 2.

See the

Map. 6th

See list

of C. H. U.

ances, pa.

974.

(2) See

Bill of

rights, pa.

1053, Vol.

2.

See in-

doxes, un-

der. Hand

ing Army.

Soldiers -

of 50000

British.

(3) See Magna Charta, pa. 790,

1050; - petition of right, pa. 816.

Bill of rights,

pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

(4) See American rights, pa. 1089

1228. & see Conclusion of the War, page,

1054, Vol. 2.

Resolved, 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

Resolved, N. C. D. 7. That these, his Majesty's colonies are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

Resolved, N. C. D. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal. (2)

Resolved, N. C. D. 9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law. (2)

Resolved, N. C. D. 10. It is indispensibly necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independant of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which, the aforesaid deputies in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indisputable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights; which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such facts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America. (3) See Magna Charta, pa. 790, 1050; - petition of right, pa. 816. - Bill of rights, pa. 1053, Vol. 2. (4) See American rights, pa. 1089

1228. & see Conclusion of the War, page, 1054, Vol. 2.

(1) See
page, 1211,
to p. 1217.(1) See
p. 1219,

to p. 1223.

List of

Grievances,

p. 971.

(2) See

American

rights, p. 1089, 1228.

(3) See Act,

p. 176.

(4) See mag-

na Charles.

p. 790, -

1050, Vol. 2.

V See in-

dexes, un-

der Jury.

(5) See Port

Act, p. 499.

Act for re-

gulating the

Charter,

p. 532.

Murder

Act, p. 509.

(6) See Que-

bec Act

p. 559.

(7) See merits of the Mass.^a Bay, page, 557.

(8) See the Act, p. 549. See indexes, under Foreign

British.

Resolved, N. E. D. That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies, viz.

The several acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34. — 5 Geo. III. ch. 25 — 6 Geo. III. ch. 52. — 7 Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46. — 8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subjects of trial by jury, authorise the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights. (1)

Also 12 Geo. III. ch. 24. intituled, "An act for the better securing his Majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores." which declares a new offence⁽³⁾ in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorising the trial of any person charged with the committing any offence described in the said act⁽²⁾ out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter & government of Massachusetts Bay, and that which is intituled, "An act for the better administration of justice," &c.

Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government to the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France. (7)

Also the act passed in the same session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America.

(7) See merits of the Mass.^a Bay, page, 557. Also

(8) See the Act, p. 549. See indexes, under Foreign British.

1231

[REDACTED]

Also that the keeping a standing [✓]army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such [✓]army is kept, is against law. &

✓ see indexes, under Standing Army, & British, Soldiers, &c & see Bill of rights Pa. 1053, Vol. 2.

Ms. Continental Congress, 1774

1232

AN

ORATION;

DELIVERED

MARCH SIXTH, 1775.

A fee pa. 60, vol. 3.

1233

О Р А Т И О

Д Е Л О

М А Т Е М А Т И К И

AN
O R A T I O N ;

DELIVERED

MARCH SIXTH, 1775.

AT THE

REQUEST of the INHABITANTS

OF THE

TOWN of BOSTON;

TO

COMMEMORATE the BLOODY//TRAGEDY

OF THE

FIFTH of MARCH, 1770.

By Dr. JOSEPH WARREN.

TANTE MOLIS ERAT, ROMANAM CONDERE GENTEM.

VIRGIL'S ÆN.

QHI, METUENS, VIVIT, LIBER MINI NON ERIT UNQUAM.

HOR. EPIS.

B O S T O N :

Printed by Messieurs EDES and GILL in Queen-street, and by JOSEPH
GREENLEAF in Union-street, near the Market.

M, D C C, L X X V.

See the Origin of the appointment of this anniversary, p. 422, Vol. 3.
see p. 60, Vol. 3.

AT a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of BOSTON, duly assembled at Faneuil-Hall, and from thence adjourned to the Old-fourth Meeting-house, on Monday the 6th day of MARCH, Annoque Domini, 1775.

UPON a motion made, *Voted unanimously*, That the thanks of the Town be, and hereby are, given to Dr. JOSEPH WARREN, for the *elegant and spirited ORATION* delivered by him at their request, in commemoration of the horrid MASSACRE, perpetrated on the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by a party of Soldiers of the XXIX Regiment, under the command of Capt. Thomas Preston; and that,

Mr. Samuel Adams, Hon. John Hancock, Esq; Benjamin Church, Esq; Mr. John Pitts, John Scollay, Esq; Colonel Thomas Marshall and Mr. Samuel Austin,

Be a committee to wait upon Dr. JOSEPH WARREN, and, in the name of the town, desire a copy of the ORATION for the press.

Attest,

WILLIAM COOPER, Town-Clerk.

Upon application made, the copy of the ORATION was sent with the following message,

GENTLEMEN,

THE same motives which influenced me yesterday to appear before my fellow citizens, induce me to deliver this copy to you,

I am with the sincerest Respect,

Your most obedient

Servant,

JOSEPH WARREN.

MARCH 7th, 1775.

See the Origin of the appointment of the celebration, of this Anniversary, p. 422, Vol. 3. See p. 60, Vol. 3. See indexes, under Troops British.

A N

O R A T I O N.

MY EVER HONOURED FELLOW-CITIZENS,

IT is not without the most humiliating conviction of my want of ability that I now appear before you : But the sense I have of the obligation I am under to obey the calls of my country at all times, together with an animating recollection of your indulgence exhibited upon so many occasions, has induced me once^v more, undeserving as I am, to throw myself upon that candor which looks with kindness on the feeblest efforts of an honest mind.

You will not now expect the elegance, the learning, the fire, the enrapturing strains of eloquence which charmed you when a ⁽¹⁾LOVELL, ⁽²⁾a CHURCH, or a ⁽³⁾HANCOCK spake ; but you will permit me to say that with a sincerity, equal to their's, I mourn over my bleeding country : With them I weep at

|| see indexes, under Oration. v see his other ^{her} oration, p. 1071.

(1) see his Oration, p. 1008, Vol. 3. (2) see Oration, p. 1227. (3) see p. 1188. & see list of Grievances, p. 971.

q see list of

Grievances, pa.

971, - & Character
of the Ministry, &c.

Crisis, pa. 740, &c.

(1) see pa. 1089, &c.

But the Par-

liament have claimed

that right, & every

unjustly, see decla-

ratory Act, pa.

524.

v see the first
emigration, pa.

1070, Vol. 2.

(2) see declara-

ry Act, pa. 524,

& Tea Act, pa.

735, Vol. 1, - &

Molasses Act,

pa. 9, Vol. 2.

1237

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her distress, and with them deeply resent the many injuries she has received from the hands of cruel and unreasonable men.

(1) THAT personal freedom is the natural right of every man; and that property or an exclusive right to dispose of what he has honestly acquired by his own labor, necessarily arises therefrom, are truths which common sense has placed beyond the reach of contradiction. (1) And no man or body of men can, without being guilty of flagrant injustice, claim a right to dispose of the persons or acquisitions of any other man, or body of men, unless it can be proved that such a right has arisen from some compact between the parties in which it has been explicitly and freely granted.

If I may be indulged in taking a retrospective view of the first settlement of our country, it will be easy to determine with what degree of justice the late parliament of Great Britain have assumed the power of giving away that property which the Americans have earned by their labor. (2)

Our fathers, having nobly resolved never to wear the yoke of despotism, and seeing the European world, at that time, thro' indolence and cowardice, falling a prey to tyranny; bravely threw themselves upon the bosom of the ocean; determined to find a place in which they might enjoy their freedom, or perish in the glorious attempt. Approving Heaven beheld the favourite ark dancing upon the waves, and graciously preserved,

(1) See their first
emigration, pa
1070, Vol. 2.

AN O R A T I O N.

(2) See index,
under Anarchy
ours.

preserved it until the chosen families were brought in safety to these western regions.⁽¹⁾ They found the land swarming with savages, who threatned death with every kind of torture. But savages, and death with torture, were far less terrible than slavery :---Nothing was so much the object of their abhorrence as a tyrant's power :---They knew that it was more safe to dwell with man in his most unpolished state than in a country where arbitrary power prevails.⁽²⁾ Even anarchy itself, that bugbear held up by the tools of power (though truly to be deprecated) is infinitely less dangerous to mankind than arbitrary government. Anarchy can be but of short duration ; for when men are at liberty to pursue that course which is most conducive to their own happiness, they will soon come into it, and from the rudest state of nature, order and good government must soon arise. But tyranny, when once established, entails its curse on a nation to the latest period of time ; unless some daring genius, inspired by Heaven, shall unappalled by danger, bravely form and execute the arduous design of restoring liberty and life to his enslaved, murdered country.

THE tools of power in every age have racked their inventions to justify the FEW in sporting with the happiness of the MANY ; and, having found their sophistry too weak to hold mankind in bondage, have impiously dared to force religion, the daughter of the king of Heaven, to become a prostitute in the service of Hell. They taught that princes, honoured

(1) It was first
discovered by

1239

Cornwallis

1602, see p. 1070,

Vol. 2.

(2) see index, under
Ancestors ours.

v. see their Arm-
val, p. 1070, Vol. 2.

AN O R A T I O N.

honoured with the name of christian, might bid defiance to the founder of their faith, might pillage pagan countries and deluge them with blood, only because they boasted themselves to be the disciples of that teacher who strictly charged his followers to do to others as they would that others should do unto them.

THIS country, having been discovered by an English subject in the year 1626, was (according to the system which the blind superstition of those times supported) deemed the property of the crown of England. Our ancestors, when they resolved to quit their native soil, obtained from King James a grant of certain lands in North-America. This they probably did to silence the cavils of their enemies, for it cannot be doubted, but they despised the pretended right which he claimed thereto. Certain it is that he might, with equal propriety and justice, have made them a grant of the planet Jupiter. And their subsequent conduct plainly shews that they were too well acquainted with humanity and the principles of natural equity to suppose that the grant gave them any right to take possession; they therefore entered into a treaty with the natives and bought from them the lands: Nor have I yet obtained any information that our ancestors ever pleaded, or that the natives ever regarded the grant from the English crown: The business was transacted by the parties in the same independant manner that it would have been, had neither of them ever known or heard of the island of Great Britain. (2)

HAVING

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HAVING become the honest proprietors of the soil, they immediately applied themselves to the cultivation of it; and they soon beheld the virgin earth teeming with richest fruits, a grateful recompence for their unwearied toil. The fields began to wave with ripening harvests, and the late barren wilderness was seen to blossom like the rose!⁽¹⁾ The savage natives saw with wonder the delightful change, and quickly formed a scheme to obtain *that* by fraud or force, *which* nature meant as the reward of industry alone. But the illustrious emigrants soon convinced the rude invaders that they were not less ready to take the field for battle than for labor; and the insidious foe was driven from their borders as often as he ventured to disturb them. The crown of England looked with indifference on the contest; our ancestors were left alone to combat with the natives.⁽²⁾ Nor is there any reason to believe, that it ever was intended by the one party, or expected by the other, that the grantor should defend and maintain the grantees in the peaceable possession of the lands named in the patents. And it appears plainly from the history of those times that neither the Prince nor the people of England thought themselves much interested in the matter.⁽²⁾ They had not then any idea of a thousandth part of those advantages which they since have and we are most heartily willing they should still continue to reap from us.

AN ORATION.

(1) see
 Merits of
 the map.
 Bay, pa.
 i. 55, &c.

(2) see indexes
 under Ameri-
 can Colonies,
 -America, -
 Pitts speech,
 pa. 403, Vol. 1.

BUT when at an infinite expence of toil and blood, this widely extended continent had been cultivated and defended : When the hardy adventurers justly expected that they and their descendants should peaceably have enjoyed the harvest of those fields which they had sown, and the fruit of those vineyards which they had planted ; this country was then thought worthy the attention of the British ministry ; and the only justifiable and only successful means of rendering the colonies serviceable to Britain were adopted. By an intercourse of friendly offices, the two countries became so united in affection, that they thought not of any distinct or separate interests, they found both countries flourishing and happy. Britain saw her commerce extended and her wealth increased ; ⁽²⁾ her lands raised to an immense value, her fleets riding triumphant on the ocean, the terror of her arms spreading to every quarter of the globe. ⁽²⁾ The colonist found himself free, and thought himself secure : He dwelt under his own vine and under his own figtree and had none to make him afraid : He knew indeed that by purchasing the manufactures of Great Britain he contributed to its greatness. ⁽²⁾ He knew that all the wealth that his labour produced centered in Great Britain : ⁽²⁾ But that far from exciting his envy filled him with the highest pleasure ; that thought supported him in all his toils. When the business of the day was past, he solaced himself with the contemplation or perhaps entertained his listening family with the recital

of

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of some great, some glorious transaction which shines conspicuous in the history of Britain: Or perhaps his elevated fancy led him to foretell, with a kind of enthusiastic confidence, the glory, power and duration of an empire which should extend from one end of the earth to the other: He saw, or thought he saw, the British nation risen to a pitch of grandeur which cast a veil over the Roman glory, and, ravished with the præview, boasted a race of British Kings, whose names should echo through those realms where Cyrus, Alexander, and the Cæsars were unknown; Princes for whom millions of grateful subjects redeemed from slavery and pagan ignorance, should with thankful tongues offer up their prayers and praises to that transcendently great and beneficent being by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice.

THESE pleasing connections might have continued; these delightful prospects might have been every day extended; and even the reveries of the most warm imagination might have been realized; but unhappily for us, unhappily for Britain, the madness of an avaricious minister of state has drawn a sable curtain over the charming scene, and in its stead has brought upon the stage, discord, envy, hatred and revenge, with civil war⁽³⁾ close in their rear. ♦

⁽²⁾ SOME demon in an evil hour suggested to a short sighted financier⁽¹⁾ the hateful project of transferring the whole property

✓ See Chronology, pa. 1089, &c., Vol. 2.

Route, see indexes, under Route.

♦ See list of Grievances, pa. 971.

(1) George Grenville, see index, Vol. 1, p. 2, - & page under Grenville, & pa. 791, Vol. 1.

(2) Governor Barnard, see pa. 655, Index, under Route.

(3) If Crooke out soon after, see pa. 723, &c.

(1) & see declaratory
Act, pa. 524. &

Sea Act, pa. 738.

Vol. 1. - Molayes

Act, pa. 9. Vol. 2.

(X) See Pitts

speech, pa. 403.

Vol. 1. - & Camdens

pa. 10. Vol. 2.

1243

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property of the King's subjects in America to his subjects in Britain. The claim of the British parliament to tax the colonies can never be supported but by such a TRANSFER; for the right of the house of commons of Great Britain to originate any tax or to grant money is altogether derived from their being elected by the people of Great Britain to act for them, and the people of Great Britain cannot confer on their *representatives* a right to give or grant any thing which *they themselves* have not a right to give or grant *personally*. X Therefore it follows that if the members chosen by the people of Great Britain to represent them in parliament have by virtue of their being so chosen, any right to give or grant American property, or to lay any tax upon the lands or persons of the colonists, it is because the lands and people in the colonies are bona fide, owned by, and justly belong to the people of Great Britain. But (as has been before observed) every man has a natural right to personal freedom, consequently a right to enjoy what is acquired by his own labor. X And as it is evident that the property in this country has been acquired by our own labor, it is the duty of the people of Great Britain to produce some compact in which we have explicitly given up to them a right to dispose of our *persons or property*. Until this is done every attempt of their's, or of those whom they have deputed to act for them to give or grant any part of our property is directly repugnant to every principle of reason

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reason and natural justice. But I may boldly say that such a compact never existed, no, not even in imagination. Nevertheless the representatives of a nation, long famed for justice and the exercise of every noble virtue, have been prevailed on to adopt the fatal scheme; and although the dreadful consequences of this wicked policy have already shaken the empire to its center; yet still it is persisted in. Regardless of the voice of reason---deaf to the prayers and supplications---and unaffected with the flowing tears of suffering millions, the British ministry still hug the darling idol; and every rolling year affords fresh instances of the absurd devotion with which they worship it. Alas! how has the folly, the distraction of the British counsels blasted our swelling hopes and spread a gloom over this western hemisphere. The hearts of Britons and Americans, which lately felt the generous glow of mutual confidence and love, now burn with jealousy and rage. Though but of yesterday I recollect (deeply affected at the ill boding change) the happy hours that past whilst Britain and America rejoiced in the prosperity and greatness of each other, (Heaven grant those halcyon days may soon return.) But now the Briton too often looks on the American with an evious eye, taught to consider his just plea for the enjoyment of his earnings as the effect of pride and stubborn opposition to the parent country. Whilst the American beholds the Briton as the ruffian, ready first to take away his property, and next, what

is

See declaratory
524
Act, pa. 735
Vol. 1. - Molasses

Act, pa. 9, Vol. 2.

- List of Grievances,
pa. 971.

See English

Grievances, pa.

532, Vol. 2. -

pa. 540. - Crisis,

pa. 740, &c.

See indexes, under

Petitions, remonstrances,

resolves, Letters,

Representatives,

&c. See list of

Grievances, pa. 971.

& Crisis, pa. 740, &c.

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is dearer to every virtuous man, the liberty of his country.

WHEN the measures of administration had disgusted the colonies to the highest degree, and the people of Great Britain had by artifice and falshood been irritated against America, an army was sent over to enforce submission to certain acts of the British parliament, which reason scorned to countenance, and which placemen and pensioners were found unable to support.

MARTIAL law and the government of a well regulated city are so entirely different, that it has always been considered as improper to quarter troops in populous cities, as frequent disputes must necessarily arise between the citizen and the soldier, even if no previous animosities subsist. And it is further certain from a consideration of the nature of mankind, as well as from constant experience, that standing armies always endanger the liberty of the subject. But when the people on the one part, considered the army as sent to enslave them, and the army on the other were taught to look on the people as in a state of rebellion, it was but just to fear the most disagreeable consequences. Our fears, we have seen, were but too well grounded.

(1) THE many injuries offered to the town I pass over in silence. I cannot now mark out the path (2) which led to that unequalled scene of horror, the sad remembrance of which, takes

See list of
Grievances,
pa. 97.
See Annual
of Army, pa.
263, 297, Vol. 2.
Indexes, under
Army British.
See Act, see
pa. 735, Vol. 1.
See Molasses Act,
pa. 9, Vol. 2.
See indexes,
under Commissioners
of the Customs, board
of, &c. - Under
Barnard, & Hutchinson
Governors.
See indexes, under
Troops, - Soldiers,
& Standing Army.
& Troops British.
(1) See Journal
of the
Times, pa. 323, &c.,
Vol. 2.
(2) See Massacre,
pa. 60, & Narrative
of the Massacre,
pa. 59, Vol. 3.

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See massacre,
pa. 60, Vol. 3

takes the full possession of my soul. The sanguinary theatre again opens itself to view. The baleful images of terror croud around me—and discontented ghosts with hollow groans appear to solemnize the anniversary of the FIFTH of MARCH.

APPROACH we then the melancholy walk of death. Hither let me call the gay companion, here let him drop a farewell tear upon that body which so late he saw vigorous and warm with social mirth—Hither let me lead the tender mother to weep over her beloved son—Come widowed mourner, here satiate thy grief; behold thy murdered husband gasping on the ground, and to complete the pompous show of wretchedness bring in each hand thy infant children to bewail their father's fate—Take heed, ye orphan babes, lest whilst your streaming eyes are fixed upon the ghastly corpse, *your feet slide on the stones bespattered with your father's brains.* * Enough! This tragedy need not be heightened by an infant weltering in the blood of him that gave it birth. Nature reluctant shrinks already from the view, and the chilled blood rolls slowly backward to its fountain. We wildly stare about, and with amazement, ask, who spread this ruin round us? What wretch has dared deface the image of his God? Has haughty France or cruel Spain sent forth her myrmidons? Has the grim savage rushed again from the far distant wilderness? Or does some fiend, fierce from the depth of Hell, with all the rancour-

ous

* After Mr. GRAY had been shot through the body and had fallen dead on the ground—a bayonet was pushed through his skull, part of the bone being broken his brains fell out upon the pavement. *see massacre, pa. 60, Vol. 3.*

See Account
of the Massacre,
p. 60, Vol. 3.

1247

AN O R A T I O N

ous malice which the apostate damned can feel, twang her destructive bow and hurl her deadly arrows at our breast ? No. None of these—but, how astonishing ! It is the hand of Britain that inflicts the wound. The arms of George our rightful King have been employed to shed that blood which freely would have flown at his command when justice or the honour of his crown had called his subjects to the field

BUT pity, grief, astonishment, with all the softer movements of the soul must now give way to stronger passions. Say, fellow-citizens, what dreadful thought now swells your heaving bosoms--You fly to arms---Sharp indignation flashes from each eye--Revenge gnashes her iron teeth--Death grins an hideous smile secure to drench his greedy jaws in human gore--Whilst hovering furies darken all the air.

BUT stop, my bold adventurous countrymen, stain not your weapons with the blood of Britons. Attend to reason's voice---Humanity puts in her claim---and sues to be again admitted to her wonted seat, the bosom of the brave. Revenge is far beneath the noble mind. Many perhaps, compelled to rank among the vile assassins, do from their inmost souls, detest the barbarous action. The winged death, shot from your arms, may chance to pierce some breast that bleeds, already for your injured country.

THE storm subsides--a solemn pause ensues--You spare upon condition they depart. They go--they quit your city--

AN O R A T I O N.

ty & they no more shall give offence. — Thus closes the important drama.

And could it have been conceived that we again shou'd have seen a British army in our land, sent to enforce obedience to acts of parliament destructive of our liberty! But the royal ear far distant from this western world, has been assaulted by the tongue of slander; and villains, traitorous alike to king and country, have prevail'd upon a gracious prince to cloath his countenance with wrath, and to erect the hostile banner against a people ever affectionate and loyal to him and his illustrious predecessors of the house of Hanover. Our streets are again filled with armed men: Our harbour is crouded with ships of war; but these cannot intimidate us; our liberty must be preserved; it is far dearer than life, we hold it even dear as our allegiance; we must defend it against the attacks of friends as well as enemies; we cannot suffer even BRITONS to ravish it from us.

No longer could we reflect with generous pride on the heroic actions of our American fore-fathers, — no longer boast our origin from that far famed island, whose warlike sons have so often drawn their well-tried swords to save her from the ravages of tyranny; could we but for a moment entertain the thought of giving up our liberty. The man who meanly will submit to wear a shackle, contemns the noblest gift of Heaven, and impiously affronts the God that made him free.

C

See Account of the massacre, pa. 60

See index, under Troops British.

See list of Grievances, pa. 971.

See Index, under Kings Speeches, &c.

See index, under Men of War.

See index, under Hutchinson, &c. Letters, & Letters.

(1) see month of the Massachusetts Bay, pa. 557, &c.

As they did when they extorted Magna Charta from King

John, see pa. 790, — 1050, —

That the revolution, when the famous Bill of rights, was

enacted, see pa. 1052 — & when King Charles I, consented to the

petition of rights, see pa. 816, vol. 2.

IT

See list of
Grievances,
pa. 97.

(1) See index,

under Hutchinson,

& Oliver's Letter,

Sc. (2) see

Merits of the

Massachusetts

May, pa. 557, &c.

— & Chronology,

pa. 1054, — 1072,

Sc. Vol. 2, &

General Lee's

Letter, pa. 1264, &c.

q See index,

under Army

of the United

Colonies, Gen.

Lee's, Letter, pa.

1264, — & index

under Lords.

Protests, — &

Speeches of

Gov. Johnstone

Sc. Sc. &c.

(a) & the Infa-

mous Col. Grant's

speech, page,

710.

1249

AN ORATION.

It was a maxim of the Roman people, which eminently conducted to the greatness of that state, never to despair of the common-wealth.

The maxim may prove as salutary to us now, as it did to them.

Short sighted mortals see not the numerous links of small and great

events which form the chain on which the fate of kings and nations

is suspended. Ease and prosperity, (tho' pleasing for a day,) have

often sunk a people into effeminacy and sloth. Hardships and dan-

gers, (tho' we forever strive to shun them,) have frequently called

forth such virtues, as have commanded the applause and reverence of

an admiring world. Our country loudly calls you to be circumspect,

vigilant, active and brave. Perhaps, (all gracious Heaven avert it)

perhaps, the power of Britain, a nation great in war, by some malig-

nant influence, may be employed to enslave you: But let not even

this discourage you. Her arms, 'tis true, have fill'd the world with

terror: her troops have reap'd the laurels of the field: her fleets

have rode triumphant on the sea—And when or where did you, my

Countrymen, depart inglorious from the field of fight? * You too

can

* The Patience with which this People have borne the repeated Injuries which have been heap'd upon them, and their unwillingness to take any sanguinary Measures, has very injudiciously been ascribed to Cowardice, by Persons both here and in Great-Britain. I most heartily wish that, an Opinion so erroneous in itself, and so fatal in its consequences, might be utterly removed before it be too late: And I think nothing further necessary to convince every intelligent Man, that the Conduct of this People is owing to the tender Regard which they have for their Fellow Men, and an utter Abhorrence to the shedding of human Blood, than a little Attention to their general Temper and Disposition, discovered when they cannot be supposed to be under any Apprehension of Danger to themselves.—I will only mention the universal Detestation which they shew to every Act of Cruelty, by whom and upon whomsoever committed: the mild Spirit of their Laws; the very few Crimes to which capital Penalties are annexed; and the very great Backwardness which both Courts and Juries discover, in condemning Persons charged with capital Crimes.—But if any should think this Observation not to the Purpose, I readily appeal to those Gentlemen of the Army who have been in the Camp, or in the Field, with the Americans.

AN ORATION.

can shew the trophies of your forefather's victories and your own; can name the fortresses and battles you have won; and many of you count the honourable scars of wounds received, whilst fighting for your king and country.

WHERE justice is the standard, Heaven is the warrior's shield: But conscious guilt unnerves the arm that lifts the sword against the innocent. Britain united with these colonies, by commerce and affection—by interest and blood, may mock the threats of France and Spain: May be the seat of universal empire.⁽¹⁾ But should America either by force, or those more dangerous engines, luxury and corruption, ever be brought into a state of vassalage, Britain must lose her freedom also.⁽²⁾ No longer shall she sit the empress of the sea:—Her ships no more shall waft her thunders over the wide ocean:—The wreath shall wither on her temples:—Her weakened arm shall be unable to defend her coasts: and she at last must bow her venerable head to some proud foreigner's despotic rule.⁽³⁾

BUT if from past events we may venture to form a judgment of the future, we justly may expect that the devices of our enemies will but increase the triumphs of our country. I must indulge a hope that Britain's liberty as well as ours, will eventually be preserved by the virtue of America.⁽⁴⁾

THE attempt of the British parliament to raise a revenue from America, and our denial of their right to do it, have excited an al-

(4) No doubt Britain, instead of preserving her liberty by the virtue of America, has lost it by that means, as by the virtue of America, she separated from G. Britain, which no doubt in the sequel, will ruin her, i.e. G. Britain. (6) See indexes, under; resolves, petitions, Representative Letters, & Congress Continental proceedings, &c.

v. See Merits of the Mass.

Bay, pa. 557, &c.

& Chronology, pa.

1054, 1072, &c.

Vol. 2, & Seas

Letter, pa. 126, &c.

& Lords Pro-

test, &c.

(1) See Pitts

speech, pa.

403, Vol. 1.

(2) See Crisis,

pa. 740, &c. &

Pitts speech, pa. 403

(3) And no doubt this

will be the

Case now the

Colonies have

separated

from her

& see list of

Grievances,

pa. 97.

X True, but

not in the way

that he expect-

ed, see index,

under, Army

of the United

Colonies, &

Naval affairs

(5)

(5) See Sea Act,

pa. 735, Vol. 1.

Molaf. Act, pa.

3, Vol. 2.

See Pro-
ceedings of the
Town of
Boston, pa. 1089.

1095. & Proceed-
ings of Congress.

pa. 1227, &c.

& Farmers
Letter, page

781, &c, Vol. 1.

& pa. 1, &c, Vol. 2.

- & pa. 516.

& Essay on the
Canon, &

Feudal Law,
pa. 159, &c.

Vol. 1. & Nov.

Massachusetts.

slip, pa.

Anglus, pa.

651, &c, &c.

X See Port

Act, pa. 499.

q See index,

under Roma-

tions.

(1) See Amer-

ican rights, pa.

1089, 1228.

& See index,

under Con-

gress Contin-

ental, &

Confederacy, pa. 1046.

(2) See the Murder Act, pa. 509.

& Act alter-

most universal enquiry into the rights of mankind in general, and of British subjects in particular; the necessary result of which must be such a liberality of sentiment, and such a jealousy of those in power as will, better than an adamant wall, secure us against the future approaches of despotism.

THE malice of the *Boston Port-Bill* has been defeated in a very considerable degree, by giving you an opportunity of *deserving*, and our brethren in this and our sister-colonies an opportunity of *bestowing* those benefactions which have delighted your friends and astonished your enemies, not only in America, but in Europe also. And what is more valuable still, the sympathetic feelings (for a brother in distress, and the grateful emotions excited in the breast of him who finds relief, must forever endear each to the other, and form those indissoluble bonds of friendship and affection, on which the preservation of our rights to evidently depend.

THE mutilation of our charter has made every other colony jealous for its own; for this, if once submitted to by us, would set on float the property and government of every British settlement upon the continent. If Charters are not deemed sacred, how miserably precarious is every thing founded upon them?

EVEN the sending troops to put these acts in execution is not without advantages to us. The exactness and beauty of their Discipline inspire our youth with ardor in the pursuit of military knowledge. Charles the Invincible, taught Peter the Great, the Confederacy, pa. 1046. (2) See the Murder Act, pa. 509. & Act altering the Charter, pa. 532. (3) See Charter, pa. 1077, vol. 2. (4) See index under Representatives, resolves, Congress, County, & Congress Continental. (5) See index, under Troops, &c.

AN O R A T I O N.

art of war. The battle of Pultowa convinced Charles of the proficiency Peter had made.

OUR Country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. Our enemies are numerous and powerful, but we have many friends, determine TO BE FREE, and Heaven and Earth will aid the RESOLUTION. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question, on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises its suppliant hands, imploring defence against the monster slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons, who boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue; but sternly frown upon the inhuman miscreant, who, to secure the loaves and fishes to himself, would breed a serpent to destroy his children.

BUT, pardon me, my fellow-citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat, you never will decline it when freedom is the prize. An independence on Great-Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is, that Britain and the Colonies may like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together. But whilst the insatuated plan of making one part of the empire slaves to the other, is persisted in; the interest and safety of Britain, as well as the Colonies, require that the wise measures recommended by the honourable, the continental Congress, be steadily pursued whereby

See pa. 606. v. see index, under Congress Continental

See list
of Grievances, pa. 97.
See index,
es, under
Forms, Co.
unity, as-
sembly, re-
presenta-
tives, votes,
resolves,
Congress
Continental,
al, &
Provincial,
rising of
the Country
&c.
(1) As Gov.
Hutchinson,
Oliver, the
Commis.
Peter Oliver,
Foster
Hutchinson,
Jewell,
Auchmuty,
Mandamus
Council-
on, &c. See
indexes,
under
their re-
spective
names.
(2) See
American
rights, pa.
1089, 1228.

AN O R A T I O N.

o see list
of Grievances,
p. 971. &
indexes, under
Towns, County,
Assembly,
Representa-
tives, riots,
resolves, —

Congress,

Continental,

at, & Pro-

vincial,

rising of

the Count-

ry, &c. (a)

1) see p. 606,

Index,

under

Congress

Continental

at.

2) see index,

under

Army

British,

& Army

of the

United

Colonies.

(1) see list

of Grievances;

p. 971.

the unnatural contest between a parent honoured, and a child beloved, may probably be brought to such an issue, as that the peace and happiness of both may be established upon a lasting basis. But if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is, thro' fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes; but will undauntedly press forward, until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored goddess LIBERTY, fast by a BRUNSWICK's side, on the American Throne.

You then, who nobly have espoused your Country's cause, who generously have sacrificed wealth and ease—who have despised the pomp and show of tinsel'd greatness—refused the summons to the festive board, been deaf to the alluring calls of luxury and mirth, who have forsaken the downy pillow, to keep your vigils by the midnight lamp, for the salvation of your invaded country, that you might break the fowler's snare, and disappoint the vulture of his prey, you then will reap that harvest of renown which you so justly have deserved. Your country shall pay her grateful tribute of applause. Even the children of your most inveterate enemies, ashamed to tell from whom they sprang, while they in secret curse their stupid, cruel parents, shall join the general voice of gratitude to those who broke the fetters which their father's forg'd.

(2) when the Orator came to this, — some regular officers who were present, made a very great disturbance, which throw'd the whole Assembly into great disorder.

HAVING

(a) Index, under Washington. — & Generals, — Army of the United Colonies, & Naval Affairs.

(5) see in

1256

STRICTURES

PAMPHLET

ENTITLED

FRIENDLY ADDRESS

TO ALL REASONABLE AMERICANS,

ON THE
Subject of our POLITICAL CONFUSIONS."

ADDRESSED TO THE
PEOPLE OF AMERICA. //

"Let's crown him in his broad Cardinal's Hat."

SHAKESPEARE.

By General Lee.

NEW-YORK, Printed.

Author: Re-printed and sold by J. THOMAS.

Sold also by the Bookellers in AMERICA.

MDCCLXXV.

Wrote by Miles Cooper, D.D. late President
New York College, - a grand Tory, who fled
England.

& See
indexes
under
Fanny, Co
antip, af
semblg
agreement
stacy, vol
resolves
Congress
Continental
at & Pau
usical
wing of
the House
by, &c.

See
index,
under
Town

County

Assembly

reposed

atives, of

sembly,

George

Continental

It provin

cial, viz

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rising of

the Cou

ntry, &c.

See man

ginal no

to, page

1256

See am

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rights pa

1089, 1222

STRICTURES,

On a Pamphlet entitled "A Friendly Address to all reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusion," &c.

A PAMPHLET entitled, A Friendly Address to all reasonable Americans, advertised and sold by Mr. James Livingston, of New-York, is of so extraordinary a nature that it is difficult for any man, who is interested in the welfare of the community (whatever contempt he may have for the performance) to remain silent. I know not whether the author is a Layman or Ecclesiastic, but he bears strongly the characters of the latter. He has the want of candour and truth, the arrogant spirit of persecution, the unforgiveness, the deadly hatred to dissenters, and the zeal for arbitrary power, which has distinguished churchmen in all ages, and more particularly the high part of the church of England; I cannot help therefore considering him as one of this order.

The design of his pamphlet is: manifestly to dissolve the spirit of union, and check the noble ardor prevailing through the continent; but his zeal so far out-runs his abilities, that there is the greatest reason to think that his reverence has laboured to little effect.—His discretion seems to be still less than his genius. A man of common judgment would not so wantonly have attacked the general reigning principles and opinions of a people, whom he intends to seduce or intimidate out of their rights and privileges. For instance, I believe there are at least ninety-nine Americans in an hundred, who think that Charles the first was an execrable tyrant, that he met with no harder fate than he deserved, and that his two sons ought in justice to have made the same exit. To descant therefore on the criminality of the resistance made to that tyrant; to affect on every occasion giving the title of rebellion to the evil war which brought him to justice, is a degree of weakness which no man who is not blinded by the demon of jacobitism could possibly be guilty of.—But to preach up in this enlightened age (as he does in almost express terms) passive obedience, is a mark of lunacy, or at least it proves that the moment a head begins to itch for a mitre, it loses the faculty of reasoning, for if the principle of passive obedience is admitted, the greatest Prince, for whom his reverence professes to

great

A. See Magna Charta, p. 790, 1060. p.
tion on right, p. 12 58916. Bill of
rights, p. 1003, vol. 2

See p.
County
Act, p.
524.

great a devotion is a down-right usurper, and the parliament
of which he speaks is respectfully, Lords and Commons, not
rebels and traitors.

The doctrines he aims to inculcate are as follow. That the
parliament has a right to tax you without your consent; that
the duty upon tea is no tax; that this duty is your only
grievance; that the cause of Boston is their own concern;
that it is not your cause; that the punishment of Boston is a
just punishment; that it is not equal to their crimes; that
the Bostonians are rebels, traitors, and pampered fanatics; that
the Congress are little better; that no misconduct of semi-
literation can justify or excuse open dissent; that submission
is to be paid to the higher power, whatever character they
be; that an Apostle enjoined submission to the tyrant He is
that of all the people under heaven the King's American sub-
jects have the least cause for complaint; that the present con-
fusion of the Colonies has been occasioned by false alarms;
that none of your legal rights have been invaded; no injury
has been done you, and consequently that you can never be
justified in resenting that of which you have no reason to com-
plain; that you are no judges of the rights of parliament;
that the parliament ought to act according to their own judg-
ment, not according to yours, even in things which concern
you principally and solely; that they assert they have it
right in question; that you have never proved they have not;
that you have always believed or allowed they have it until
the present occasion; that the Quebec Bill is a just and con-
stitutional bill; that the Canadians are likely to prove the best
and most loyal subjects in his Majesty's American dominions;
that there is too much reason to believe that the minds of the
Americans are unprincipled, and their hearts disposed for re-
bellion; that since the reduction of Canada they have been
bleated with a vain opinion of their own power and importance,
that the island of Great-Britain is able to govern (that is, to
dragoon) ten Americas; that the moment it is known that
America is no longer under the protection of Great-Britain,
all the maritime powers of Europe would join to ravage your
sea ports, plunder and seize your ships merely for the pleasure
of ravaging; that all the maritime powers of the world would
not dispose of Great-Britain of the empire of the sea; that
even when America is separated from her. Now I challenge

See p.
Act, p.
735, vol. 1.

See list
of griev-
ances,
p. 977.

X or ra-
ther he
means,
p. 111, 112.

See Port
Act, p.

499. Act
altering
the Cha-
rter, p.

532, &
Magna
Act, p.

509. -
of in-
dors

under
power
of Act

See
index
under
Comm.

See
Act, p.

(4) See
page,

1054,
vol. 2

* This is perhaps the most preposterous idea that ever was
hatched in a disordered brain. America (more particularly
since the distractions in Poland have taken place) has been
the great granary or cella penaria of Europe. — It is possi-
ble to conceive that the different maritime powers should

- (1) See index, under Towns, County, Assembly,
representatives, Congress, Continental, & Provin-
cial, riots, resolutions, rising of the Country, &c.
(2) See Quebec Act, p. 359, (5) p. 329.

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let

(1) *see*
comproh.
and of
Amor.
ca. P.

speech,
pa. 403
Vol. 1.

2 D?
Coop.

see
mar-
ginal
note,
page

12.56.

(2) *see*
mar-
ginal
note
pa.

12.49,
mark
ed (1)

(3) *see*
index
es, un-
der

Army,
privile
th. &
Treaty
for Gen
mar

pa. 951.

(4) *Holland, see pa. 799.*

(5) *True the event proved it, when the*

the world to produce to many wicked sentiments, stupid principles, and viciously false assertions, and monstrous absurdities, crowded together into so small a compass. All his positions are indeed so self evidently absurd and false, that it would be an insult to American understandings, seriously to attempt refuting them. I shall only beg leave to take notice of the curious argument he uses to prove the duty on tea to be no tax, it is that, unless we consent to the tax we are not to pay the duty. We may refuse purchasing it if we please. The same logic would demonstrate that a duty on beer, candles or soap would be no tax, as we are not absolutely obliged to drink beer; we may drink water, we may go to bed before it is dark, and we are not forced to wash our shirts. His assertion that Great-Britain, when divorced from her colonies, will still hold the empire of the seas in spite of all the powers of the world, is still more ingenious. It amounts to this, that without the possible means of procuring timber, iron, plank, masts, pitch, tar or hemp, to furnish out a single frigate, they may build more ships than all the world put together; that when her nursery for seamen is destroyed, and all the commerce on which the existence of seamen depends, is annihilated, they will then be able to man more fleets than the whole universe put together. But I am ashamed of trespassing on the public patience, in making strictures on such ridiculous articles, I shall therefore pass to some questions which have not been so much agitated, and on which if I mistake not, his reverence lays the greatest stress; for as he modestly declares, that he has no opinion of your courage, it was natural for him to consider intimidation and terror, as the most powerful figures of rhetoric. Regular armies from Great-Britain, Hessians, Hanoverians, royal standards erected, faithful Generals, legions of Canadians

unite to deprive themselves of the chief means of subsistence, merely for the sun's sake? Is it not more natural to suppose that they would cut bid each other for your friendship and commerce on which so much depends? When the low countries withdrew themselves from the dominion of Spain, did England, France, and the other powers immediately set about ravaging their sea ports and seizing their ships? Did they not, on the contrary, exert themselves directly and indirectly to assist them? The case is similar, the event would be similar; and that Great Britain would not be powerful enough at sea, when separated from her colonies; to prevent this assistance, I shall refer my readers to Madsen's estimates, the authority of which has never been disputed, and which demonstrates, that more than half the naval power of Great-Britain stands on her American foundation. (1)

pa. 951. (4) Holland, see pa. 799.

(5) *True the event proved it, when the French Fleet came to America, anno, 1778.*

Canadian, and unnumbered tribes of Indians, are ⁽¹⁾ ~~all~~ ^{see} marshalled in a most dreadful order by this church militant ^{pa.} author. — But let us somewhat minutely examine the picture, and for whatever, strip of its false colouring, it has any ¹⁰⁵⁴ thing really terrifying. His Reverence begins with assuring us, that there is no room to doubt, but that such an army as ¹⁰⁵⁵ was employed in the rebellion of Canada (that is, an army of ¹⁰⁵⁶ seven thousand men) would be more than sufficient for the ¹⁰⁵⁷ conquest of all the ¹⁰⁵⁸ ~~disaffected~~ ^{ma.} Colonies, (which are ¹⁰⁵⁹ in fact all the Colonies) should such a rebellion become ¹⁰⁶⁰ necessary in order to reduce them to obedience. For my own ¹⁰⁶¹ part I think there is very great reason to doubt, that seven ¹⁰⁶² thousand, even of the best troops, are able to conquer two ¹⁰⁶³ hundred thousand of the most disorderly peasantry upon earth, ¹⁰⁶⁴ if they are animated in defence of every thing they hold ¹⁰⁶⁵ dear and sacred; and there is still greater reason to doubt, ¹⁰⁶⁶ that seven thousand very indifferent troops composed of the ¹⁰⁶⁷ refuse of an exhausted nation, few of whom have seen action ¹⁰⁶⁸ of any kind, should be able to conquer two hundred thousand ¹⁰⁶⁹ active, vigorous yeomanry, used with the noble order, we see ¹⁰⁷⁰ prevalent through the continent, all armed, all expert in the ¹⁰⁷¹ use of arms almost from their cradles. The ¹⁰⁷² ~~fact~~ ^{see} it is true, does infinite honour to the English arms, the ¹⁰⁷³ army was, I believe, only seven thousand, the enemy were ¹⁰⁷⁴ perhaps more than double, but seven thousand men are not ¹⁰⁷⁵ two hundred thousand. The fate of Canada, depended upon ¹⁰⁷⁶ one decisive action, but it is impossible to calculate how many ¹⁰⁷⁷ victories must be gained before these Colonies could be sub- ¹⁰⁷⁸ ~~dued~~ ^{un-} ¹⁰⁷⁹ ~~der~~ ^{der} ¹⁰⁸⁰ ~~my~~ ^{my} ¹⁰⁸¹ ~~the~~ ^{the} ¹⁰⁸² ~~material~~ ^{the} ¹⁰⁸³ ~~in their favour.~~ ^{in their favour.} In the affair of Quebec there is ¹⁰⁸⁴ another circumstance to be considered, it was Wolfe, who com- ¹⁰⁸⁵ ~~manded~~ ^{see} ¹⁰⁸⁶ ~~manded~~ ^{ma.} ¹⁰⁸⁷ ~~manded~~ ^{vge.} ¹⁰⁸⁸ ~~manded~~ ^{na.} ¹⁰⁸⁹ ~~manded~~ ^{no-} ¹⁰⁹⁰ ~~manded~~ ^{to,} ¹⁰⁹¹ ~~manded~~ ^{pa.} ¹⁰⁹² ~~manded~~ ¹⁰⁹³ ~~manded~~ ¹⁰⁹⁴ ~~manded~~ ¹⁰⁹⁵ ~~manded~~ ¹⁰⁹⁶ ~~manded~~ ¹⁰⁹⁷ ~~manded~~ ¹⁰⁹⁸ ~~manded~~ ¹⁰⁹⁹ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰⁰ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰¹ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰² ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰³ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰⁴ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰⁵ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰⁶ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰⁷ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰⁸ ~~manded~~ ¹¹⁰⁹ ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹⁰ ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹¹ ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹² ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹³ ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹⁴ ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹⁵ ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹⁶ ~~manded~~ ¹¹¹⁷ ~~manded~~ 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see indexes, under *Spanning Armies*
 (1) *Dr. Cooper* see 126/ra. 1256
 (2) see indexes, under *Army British, & Treaty*
 pa. 951.

(3) *See* I have seen that Mr. Wolfe was not only the best of soldiers, but that he was a most liberal, virtuous citizen, that he was passionately attached to the liberties of his country, and of mankind; and that he was particularly an enemy to large standing armies in time of peace. It is on the other hand remarkable, that all the advocates for standing armies, all those who are the fustians of the faddling and parade of war, are the most active in avoiding responsibility.

(4) This tremendous Gothic style, on the supposition that so great a miracle should happen in our country, so that the willing body of five hundred thousand men, though firmly united (for every man in America, firmly united, would not amount to less) should be able to withstand this seven thousand; goes on to state in our ears, armies of Hessian and Hanoverians. I wish to Heaven he had for once deviated into probability and truth. I wish ten thousand of them could possibly be transported to America. The people they would conquer, is a purpose directly to be wished for; they would be an addition to this continent of just so many useful and excellent citizens, for I will venture to affirm, (affirming in infinitum) that in less than four months not two of these ten thousand would remain with their colours. But does not this Reverend gentleman know, that in the year 1764 a convention was formed by most of the Princes of the Empire at the head of which convention was the Emperor himself and the King of Prussia, to prevent the alarming emigrations which threatened depopulation to Germany? Does he not know that no troops can march out of the empire without the consent of the Emperor? Does he not know that the Elector of Hanover and the Emperor are men exceeding ill wits? Does he not know that the Elector of Hanover and the King of Prussia are still more wiser? Is he sure that the Landgrave of Hesse would sell his troops (for as yet one man would return back to their country, he must consider them as lost) to be sure that as the finances of Great-Britain and the war, for necessary for this purchase would be exorbitantly found? Is he sure that the state of Hanover would consent to such a draining of their country? I know how it is; but his most excellent Majesty George the third, who in England is justly esteemed the most grateful, most of sovereigns, the wisest and best of Kings, is not very popular in the Electorate of Hanover. These people seem to think it hard that two hundred and twenty thousand pounds should annually be drawn from them, for the purpose (as they suppose it) of supporting the members of St. Stephen's chapel, in order to support the power and authority of a set of men, who from the beginning have been enemies to the constitution.

(5) *See* 500,000, Man
 multiply
 250,000, the number in America: it is
 now, vid. pa. 617-1998. - 8 pa. 704, vol. 3, & is

3^d Cooper, see pa. 1256 (1) see indexes, un-
der Troops, British, 262 & Treaty for Germans,
pa. 951. (2) Judge of the Admiralty. (3) see indexes,
under Paxton. (4) see indexes, under Aug-

cession of the Hanover line, and who showed a particular sym-
pathy to their late and foregone prince, George the second (5) see
but these difficulties (great and unsurmountable as to a com- pa. 549
mon mortal they appear) our divine (Christ) has in an instant
conquered down, and by a single motion of his enchanted wand,
has transported whole armies, in spite of their respective (6) see
Princes, and without the consent of their respective states, index
from the interior parts of Germany across the Atlantic into
the plains of New-England and Pennsylvania. (7) But he does
not confine himself to the introduction of his Germans. (8) He
proceeds next to erect the royal standard, to which he tells us
that all who have the courage to declare themselves
friends to government, will undoubtedly resort, and these he
says in a good cause, will be of themselves formidable to their
opposers. Dreadfully formidable they must be indeed. There-
fore would resort to it, he says, (for the respectable towns of
New-England have declared themselves a kind of neutrals, rather than
friends to government) there would resort to it. Messrs. Justice
Scwell, the honorable Mr. Paxton, Brigadier Ruggles, and
about eight or ten more mandating councilmen, with perhaps
twice their number of exponents, and not less than twenty
of the celebrated Hutchinsonian adherents. (9) These are sent
provinces of New-England alone would send forth—New
York would furnish six, seven, or probable eight volunteers
from a certain knot, who are in possession of a reputation of con-
tract, and the fourth part of a dozen of high flying church
of England Romanized priests. I represent to my self the for-
midable countenance they will make, when arranged under the
royal or imperial standard; but what will add to the terror of
the appearance will be their magnificent Portia (himself, whom I
conceive marching in the front, an inquisitorial frown upon his
brow, his hands and canons floating to the air, bearing
a cross in his hands, with the tremendous motto, In hoc signo
vinces, flaming upon it in capital letters of blood, leading
them on, and exciting them to victory. It is impossible that
men, who are not upon an infatuation by the judgment
of heaven should flatter themselves that forty thousand
American Yahoos (for we are assured by the same great
authorities that more than forty thousand cannot be brought to
action) could stand the shock of this dreadful Phalanx.

But I should beg pardon for attempting to be ludicrous upon
a subject which demands our utmost indignation. I shall now
therefore on the presumption that the people of England should
be so lost to sense, virtue and spirit, as to suffer their profligate
misleaders to persevere in their present measures, endeavor to
state to you what is their face and what is yours. I shall
endeavour to remove the false mirrors which this (writer would
hold

9) see list of Grievances, pa. 971.

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pa. 971

(1) D

Cooper

see, pa.

1256

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(2) under

Troops

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1262

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1262

held out, in order to intimidate you from the defects of your liberties and those of your posterity, that he and his followers may wallow in factories and warehouses heaped up from the fruits of your labour and industry.

Great Britain has, I believe, of infantry at home (excepting Ireland, and exclusive of the guards) fifteen thousand men. They find the greatest difficulty in keeping the regiments up to any thing near their establishment—what they are able to procure one of the worst sort. They are composed of the most debauched weavers, apprentices, the scum of the Irish Roman Catholics, who desert upon every occasion, and a few very few, Scotch, who are not strong enough to carry pikes. This is no exaggeration. Those who have been lately at Bolton, represent the soldiers there (one or two regiments excepted) as very defective in face and apparently in strength. But we shall be told they are still regulars, and regulars are an irresistible advantage.—There is, perhaps, more impatience in the term regular troops, than in any of the jargon which issues from the mouth of a quack doctor. I do not mean to insinuate, that a disorderly mob are equal to a trained disciplined body of men; but I mean, that all the essentials necessary to form infantry for real service may be acquired in a few months.* I mean, that it is very possible for men to be clothed in red, to be expert in all the tricks of the parade, to call themselves regular troops, and yet, by attaching themselves principally or solely to the tinsel and show of war, be totally unfit for real service.—This, I am told, is a good deal the case of the present British infantry: If they can acquit themselves tolerably in the parade reviews exhibited for the amusement of royal masters and mistresses in Hyde Park or Whitehall Common, it is sufficient.

* There cannot be a stronger illustration of the truth here advanced than the Prussian army. They are composed of about one third of the King's own subjects, two thirds foreigners. The third consisting of his own subjects, are, when the recruiting season is over, (which lasts six or seven weeks) suffered to return to their families, and attend to the business of husbandry; half of the other two thirds, consisting of foreigners, are not only permitted, but encouraged to work at their trades in the garrison towns, and never touch a musket for the rest of the year, so that, in fact, only one third are, in the modern language, to be called regular soldiers: These generally make their escape the first opportunity: It may be said therefore, that the King of Prussia has gained all his victories with a sort of militia.

In the beginning of the late war, some of the most skilful
of regular regiments were first sent to this country; they
were well drilled; they were well powdered; they were per-
fect masters of their manual exercise; they fired together in
platoon; but fatal experience taught us, that they knew not
how to fight. While your militia were frequently crowned
with success, these regulars were defeated or baffled for three
years successively in every part of the continent. At length in-
deed, (after repeated losses and disgrace,) they became ex-
cellent troops, but not until they had absolutely forgotten every
thing which we are assured, must render regular troops benefi-
cial. The corps sent from this country under General
Monkton, was, I believe, for its number, one of the best ar-
mies that ever was led to conquest, and yet, if I have been
rightly informed, there was not a single regiment of
them that could go through the manual exercise, or at best,
they performed it most wretchedly. It is likewise said, that
when, after their glorious and rapid conquest of Martinico,
they were joined by the spruce regiments from Europe, such
was their uncouth appearance, that they were scarce honored
with the title of soldiers by those gentlemen. Upon the
whole, it is most certain, that men may be finely drilled,
keep their arms bright, be called regulars, be expert in all
the anticks of a review, and yet be very unfit for real action.
It is equally certain, that a militia, by confining themselves
to essentials, by a simplification of the necessary manœuvres,
may become in a very few months, a most formidable infan-
try. The yeomanry of America have, besides infinite advan-
tages over the peasantry of other countries; they are ac-
customed from their infancy to fire arms; they are expert in
the use of them. Whereas the lower and middle people of
England, are, by the tyranny of certain laws almost as ig-
norant in the use of a musket, as they are of the ancient Cam-
pagna. The Americans are likewise, to a man, skilful in the
management of the instruments necessary for all military
works; such as spades, pickaxes, hatchets, &c. Taking
therefore all circumstances into consideration, there will be no
reasons in affirming, that this continent may have, formed
for action, in three or four months an hundred thousand in-
fantry: For as to the assertion of one sincerely adviser, that no
more than forty thousand could act to advantage, I confess I
do not understand it, nor does he. I believe, understand him-
self. If he means, that forty thousand men cannot be rang-
ed in a field capable of containing only forty thousand, we
shall all agree with him: But how in the operations of a war
upon a vast continent double this number should be a dis-
advantage, I can have no conception.

(4) See p. 1262. & P. Cooper, see p. 1261.
p. 1256 & see indexes, under Troops
British, & Army of the United Colonies.

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(2) See

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(3) See

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(6) page,

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(2) see indexes, under Standing
Army, & 1265 troops, & Soldiers
x see note (a) in margin, pa. 1267

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(17) pa.
1261 -
Gindex
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respective heads. ✓ see indexes, under Army
British. (1) see the period, pa. 1078, &c. Vol.
(3) see list of Grievances, pa. 975 & 976, &c. Vol.

Let me suppose general that he should be the
subdivision of your instructions; let them be instructed
in so much of the manual exercise as to prevent confusion
and accidents in loading and firing; let them be taught to
form, to retreat, to advance, to change their front, to rally to
the colours; let them be taught to protect themselves from
a line of fire to a line of impressions; that is, from two days
to five, or six, or eight. This is all so easy and simple, that
it may be acquired in three months. Let some plan of this
first be adopted, I say, and there is no doubt but that, in the
time I have prescribed, you may have an army on foot of
twenty, thirty, or an hundred thousand men, equal to all the
services of war.

Should this be admitted, it will be still objected that you
have no able officers to conduct you. I do not know that you
have, but is it certain that those sent to droop you have not
? I have taken some pains to inform myself what methods
these gentlemen, said to be bred to arms, take to qualify
themselves in a superior degree for the profession. What is
their routine of instruction? Do they read much? I am af-
fraid that they do not; from books alone the theory of war
can be acquired, and the English service in times of peace af-
fords them no practical lessons; for mounting guard once or
twice a week, or the preparation for the review of a single re-
giment can never be esteemed as such.
Another circumstance, Americans, may be added for your
comfort. It has been allowed by some of the most candid of
the regulars themselves, that during the last war upon this
continent, your countrymen the provincial field officers, were
in general more understanding and capable than their own of
the

It is much to be lamented, that the gentlemen of the
army do not apply more of the many leisure hours they have up-
on their hands to reading. The majority of them are of a
generous disposition, which, did they cultivate, by conver-
sation with the great historians and orators of antiquity, and the
many liberal political writers of our own country, a standing
army would be something less an object of jealousy to all
virtuous citizens. We might perhaps see them instead of be-
ing advocates and partisans of the present ministry, a check
upon their wickedness. I am inclined to think that few or
none of the officers have condescended to inform themselves
of the merit of the present contest. Let me conjure them
for once to read coolly and candidly the whole process, after-
wards to lay their hands upon their heart, and answer, whe-
ther the people of America in general, and of Boston in par-
ticular, are "more sinned against or sinning?"

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judges should be made on the 1st of June 1776, with involving the almighty God from whom all virtues flow, to continue you in that spirit of unanimity and vigour which must insure you success and immortality you through all ages, as the champions and patrons of the human race.

see pa. 952. ~~~~ see indexes
under, Town, County Representa-
tives, Congress Continental, & Pro-
vincial, resolves, riots, rising of the
Country, &c. &c. See indexes, under
Army British, - Men of War - Ar-
my of the United Colonies, & Naval
Affairs. (a) see English Grievances,
pa. 532, Vol. 2, & pa. 540, Vol. 1.
& Crisis pa. 740, &c. & wrote by
General Lee; pity such a great ge-
neral, & fine scholar, should be sus-
pected; see marginal Note, page
1065, - & index, under Lee.
The following Notes see margin pa.
1266 & see indexes, under petitions
addresses, & remonstrances. (b) see
Character of Court, & Parliament,
Crisis, pa. 740, &c. (c) see indexes,
under, Rights of Colonists.

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